

JPRS-UMA-91-004
1 FEBRUARY 1991

Foreign
Broadcast
Information
Service



JPRS Report

DATA RELEASE STATEMENT K
Approved for public release
Distribution Unlimited

Soviet Union

Military Affairs

19980113 369

REPRODUCED BY
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

Soviet Union

Military Affairs

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Ochirov on Need for Strong Military

91UM0245A Moscow SYN OTECHESTVA in Russian
No 38, 2 Nov 90 pp 6-7

[Article by Colonel Valeriy Ochirov, USSR People's Deputy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and deputy chairman of the Committee on Defense and State Security Questions: "To Serve the Motherland"]

[Text] It can be said with good reason about Valeriy Nikolayevich Ochirov that he is a professional soldier and a professional politician. His military biography began in the Black Sea Fleet, where he served as a sailor on the cruiser "Mikhail Kutuzov." Before long he decided to leave the naval environment for the sky. He submitted an application, and he enrolled in the Syzran Higher Military Aviation Pilots School. He climbed up the ranks from pilot to commander of a helicopter regiment. He fought for two years and seven months in Afghanistan. He completed 800 combat sorties. For performing international duty, he was awarded the Gold Star of a Hero of the Soviet Union. He has completed the Military- Political Academy, and next year he will graduate from the General Staff Military Academy of the USSR Armed Forces.

A year and a half ago, when Valeriy Nikolayevich was elected a USSR People's Deputy from Kalmykia, he started on his road to politics. Colonel Ochirov is a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and deputy chairman of the Committee on Defense and State Security Questions.

It is possible that not everything about which Colonel Ochirov talks in his article will seem to the readers to be indisputable. But he also does not claim to have the absolute truth, and he is only sharing his ideas on problems that today trouble the army and society. I recall since my school days how it was suggested to us: Better to tighten the belt some more, and we will give everything that is necessary to our country's Army. Just so that there is peace on earth. And we tightened, and we gave. Because we recalled the millions of lives that perished in the last war. But at a certain point in time, this sacred people's memory began to be exploited in a merciless way for the purpose of justifying the heavy burden of military expenditures.

The flywheel of the arms race was being turned across the ocean and in this country. It was being turned faster and faster not by ordinary people, but by the government and by politicians. In the postwar years, the United States and the Soviet Union were frightening each other for a long time. The more talk there was in America about the "Soviet military threat," the harder the burden of military expenditures pressed on the taxpayers, and the higher the profits were of firms and corporations that produced armaments. But the United States was rich enough to produce guns and butter. Alas, we did not possess such wealth. The arms race hit the well-being of the people much more painfully.

It seemed to our politicians and military: The more resources we invest in defense, the more reliable will be

the security of our country. We achieved parity with the United States. Not so much owing to quality, but owing to quantity. But quantity does not by far always make up for quality.

Before the Great Patriotic War, there was more cavalry in this country than among all of the potential enemies put together. There were many tanks and aircraft. But they were obsolete models. Meanwhile, for the more than two decades between the first and second world wars, new weapons systems appeared that radically changed the character of armed conflict. It seems that this was not noticed in this country, quantity continued to be pursued, and attempts were made to secure the country against possible aggression through a multiple preponderance of weapons and equipment. And if it were otherwise? Then, it is most likely that our Victory would not have been achieved at such a high price.

We will recall the words of the song of Bulat Okudzhava from the film "Belorussian Station": "...and, of course, we need one victory, one for everyone—we will not stop because of the cost." Indeed, these words express the patriotism of our people, and the character of the Soviet soldier who is ready for any sacrifice in behalf of victory. But our ideology can also be seen in them: victory at any price, and at any sacrifices. But the question comes to mind: Who gave the right not to stop because of the cost and to whom was it given?

Over the course of the many years that have passed after the victorious May of 1945, we have still not learned the lessons from the prewar times and from the bloody battle with German fascism. It is only recently, after a great delay, that we are beginning to understand: Peace on Earth is not directly dependent on the amount of troops and armaments. Just the opposite. But not everyone, it seems, understands the other side of this problem. Today's realities are such that peace, nevertheless, is guaranteed by the quality of the armed forces of the major states.

I was able to visit the United States this year. First, as a member of a delegation of our parliamentary committee on invitation of a similar commission of the U.S. Congress headed by Les Aspin. In September, I went alone to take part in the work of a special commission that was examining the problem of resolving regional conflicts.

Many interesting things were seen and heard during these trips. For myself, I came to the conclusion: The United States is an economically prosperous, powerful, and rich state. It is a politically steady and calm country. But I will emphasize: It is a country with powerful armed forces. Sufficiently powerful to enable the United States to dictate its will to other states and to profess a policy of deterrence. Everywhere where the United States perceives its own interests. That is the way it was in Vietnam. That is the way it was in Grenada. That is the way it was in Panama.

Today, the economic interests of the United States were affected in the Middle East. And President Bush

instantly concentrated enormous ground and naval forces there. America is moved not only by a desire to punish Saddam Husayn who occupied neighboring little Kuwait. If only figs and bananas were grown there, the Americans would hardly begin to get involved in this regional conflict. But oil is extracted here. A lot of oil. The U.S. Navy gets fuel for its combat ships here. And that is the reason why the Americans see their interests here, 8,000 miles from their shores.

While in the United States, I interested myself in the opinions of specialists: What significance do Americans attach to modern electronic warfare systems in a possible armed conflict with Iraq? And competent people, analysts and specialists in the sphere of defense with knowledge of the field, answered—a very great significance. The electronic warfare systems deployed in Saudi Arabia increase the overall combat potential of the American grouping of forces that faces Iraq. If this additional potential is employed against Iraq, then not only will enemy systems of command and control of troops, forces, and weapons be paralyzed for a certain time, but it will make significantly more difficult decisions on the retaliatory measures and retaliatory missile launches with which Saddam Husayn is threatening contiguous countries today.

In this connection, other questions also automatically came up: In such an event, has not the time arrived to begin taking electronic warfare into account in the overall combat potential of our countries in examining problems of the treaty on mutual reduction of armaments? The Americans responded to this statement of the question with understanding. Really, the level of development of these systems is so high that they change the character of armed conflict qualitatively.

I am deliberately focusing attention on this problem. At the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, we will examine in detail questions of the concept of the reform of the Armed Forces. While familiarizing myself with draft documents on military reform, I did not find in them what in my opinion is the main point: a comprehensive political analysis of the situation in today's world. I did not find answers to the questions: Who surrounds us today, and who can our probable enemy be? The availability itself in one or another country of a powerful armed fist does not indicate whether it will be employed against anyone. However, a buildup of military potential in its turn increases the probability of its use. An analysis is necessary, and, specifically, which of the countries is capable of making a political decision on the employment of armed forces against us. Such countries must be named specifically, and their economic and military potential must be described. And then proceeding from this, form conclusions and tasks: To feel secure in a given situation, we need such-and-such armed forces, such-and-such a command and control system for them, and such-and-such a principle of manning.

But I repeat, I did not see this kind of political analysis. The previous approach is retained. There are, of course, some

innovations, but they can be looked at as a program of the dynamics of the development of the armed forces.

One hears quite frequently that we have become weaker recently in the military sphere. The following are cited as arguments: The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the countries of Eastern Europe, the strengthening of NATO owing to a united Germany, the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, and the unilateral reduction of our Armed Forces. I am of another opinion on this score. We did not become weaker in a military sense. For according to those systems that in today's real world determine the character and outcome of armed conflict, parity is being maintained between us and the United States. I am confident that it will be maintained in the foreseeable future as well.

Nevertheless, we have in fact also become weaker. Weaker economically and spiritually. I will cite an example at a very ordinary level. When there is disorder in the apartment of your stairway landing neighbor, when the husband and the wife argue continuously and there are continuous scrapes in their family, do you feel like greeting neighbors like this and especially dropping in on them?

But here we are talking about a huge country. A country torn by interethnic conflicts and by economic disorder. You see, today the horizontal and vertical controlling structures of the national economy have been disrupted. The Union republics, and even individual oblasts and rayons of the country, are attempting to isolate themselves, and to cope with economic difficulties by themselves. In this kind of a situation of general distrust and confusion, it is difficult to count on serious long-range economic and even political relations with other countries. And only we ourselves are to blame for our inability to establish order in the country, and foreign partners are beginning to talk not very politely about what is wrong with us.

However bitter this may be to realize, our country is going through a troubling and alarming time. Many attempts have been made in our country to expunge its entire previous history in order to start everything all over again. And then it would seem that we would not have to be bothered by the sad experience of social disruptions that destabilize society and the economy and lead to the impoverishment of the people, and to their loss of confidence in tomorrow, and, as a result, to a drop in the prestige of the state in the international arena.

I want to shout: People: Come to your senses, remember that we lived in peace and harmony for decades. Why should we separate, when there is enough room for everyone in our beautiful and long-suffering land. I myself am a Kalmyk in nationality, but I was born in Kazakhstan. And it is painful and troubling to me when attempts are made to divide us, Soviet people, according to a national basis. This is the path to great trouble, and to a catastrophe both for the small and the large nations. But today many people are in the power of emotion, and not of reason. And latter-day

politicians look more after the attainment of their own narrow selfish objectives than the genuine good of the people, of whose interests they persistently try to represent themselves as benefactors.

The army is a part of society, and all of the cataclysms that occur in it in a very direct way concern us, the military. But for all that, the army today—I will not be afraid of this word—continues to remain the best and the most organized part of our sick society. Patriotism and devotion to duty and the Motherland—for us, these categories did not turn into an empty sound.

And we need an army that is adequate for the role and weight of our country in international affairs. As the saying goes, God forbid that something should happen. But we simply cannot exclude even the hypothetical possibility of a new war.

Some politicians and public figures naively suppose that if we and, for example, the United States assume the obligation of not being the first to use nuclear weapons that an era of universal peace and harmony will ensue. However, not all countries by far that possess a powerful military potential and, possibly, their own nuclear weapons and also chemical and biological weapons will profess standards of civilized behavior very precisely. There are quite a few Saddam Husayn's in today's world. And if the mechanism of war moves into action, then all political statements and declarations will recede into the background.

It is possible that someone will reproach me for using words out of the arsenal of the cold war. But is this so? Peace for me is no less important and dear than for any other person. But I know what war is like not from hearsay. I saw with my own eyes the deprivation and suffering that it brings to people. Afghanistan will remain a heartache for my entire life. That is why I do not want my country and my people to be exposed to danger some day.

The army is a big and complex mechanism, which for decades was being created for the defense of the interests of the state and the peaceful labor of the people. The enormous labor of the people, significant economic and intellectual potential, and the best achievements of modern science and technology are invested in it. And attempts are being made today to break up this living organism into parts. Quite frequently one hears the appeals: Let us divide up the country, let us divide up the army. Such appeals are far from that sensible position for which we should all strive. But the people? You see, they turn out to be the real hostages in a political conflict.

Today, active and open efforts are being made to draw the army into the political struggle. Those forces that are doing this understand very well that, even if they remain neutral, the Armed Forces contribute to the preservation of that vacillating political stability that is still left in the country, and that does not let society step over that dangerous line beyond which a civil war can start.

The latter-day politicians know well: It is impossible to demoralize our army from without. Therefore, they are trying to demoralize it from within. Everything is in progress: open vilification, blackmail, and speculation about real or alleged problems.

All that is needed is to mention the activity of the not unknown union "Shchit" [shield]. Its creators set what at first appeared to be a noble task: to defend officers from injustice and illegality. And "Shchit" publicized itself as a kind of independent "trade union" of the military. But it very soon became apparent that this union is a political organization first and foremost. And its activists were trying to use any platform to propagandize its political aims.

No, we, the military, cannot go along with this kind of a "shield." This organization speculates on the problems of the army more than it engages in the defense of officers.

Yes, there is a certain distance in our country between officers, privates, and sergeant personnel, between junior and senior officers, and between the officer corps and generals. It will hardly be possible to eliminate this psychological barrier entirely in the near future. Subordination and precise regulation standards of behavior between senior and junior ranks are a characteristic feature of any army. It is another matter that people who wear the military uniform, regardless of their service position, in fact should be citizens of their country with equal rights.

Yes, today the military service has been shaken substantially. But are the reasons for its numerous troubles found only in the army itself? Because the difficult economic situation in the country at times drives an officer, a young one in particular, into a desperate position. And recent graduates of military schools, who did not even serve several years with the troops, are writing applications to be released into the reserve. But then? After leaving for "civilian life," they have to adapt and find a new life for themselves. Today, there are neither economic nor social guarantees for this. As a result, families are disintegrating, thousands and thousands of people are suffering, and tension is growing in the army and in society. All of this engenders a lack of confidence in tomorrow among those who remain in the ranks.

This is not the private problem of the army, this is a problem of the entire society, which has to be resolved without delay. Those who are longing for power are trying to use it for far from unselfish purposes. Some born again parties and political movements, under the pretext of "defense," are dividing officers into democrats and conservatives, and to rightists and leftists. But, in fact, they are trying to discredit the very concept of service and to set off officers against the soldiers, and generals against the whole army.

Not everyone by far looks for cold and cynical political calculations behind this and distinguishes the selfish interests of operators from politicians behind the ringing phrase and the gaudy slogans. Some young officers easily

submit to emotions and make rash conclusions. And, it must be confessed, some seek the protection of such "benefactors"-intriguers.

But it seems to me: The army and those who serve in it should not defend political parties, but the law. Only one law. For we, the military, answer not to parties, but to the state.

Of course, I do not want to claim that all criticism directed at the army is without foundation. And quite enough problems and shortcomings have piled up for us, the military. Only they have to be resolved intelligently, competently, and in a state way. In addition, it is not a sin to learn something from the experience of the armies of other countries.

I had occasion to meet in the United States not only with congressmen. I was given an opportunity to get acquainted in fair detail with the life of the American Army. I talked with privates, and with officers, and with generals, and with the U.S. Secretary of Defense. I did not bypass the opportunity to do a little piloting of air equipment, and I flew combat aircraft and helicopters. As a professional, I was convinced of the high training and skill of the American military and in the reliability and perfection of their combat equipment. But another thing created a greater impression on me than anything else: democracy in the relations between privates, officers, and generals. I observed how an American soldier conducted himself with U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney. This soldier felt that he was a citizen with rights equal to those of the highly placed person he was talking to. He did not sense that he was under the gaze of the master. This was his chief who is responsible for him and who can at any moment assign him a task. And the American private answers for its execution legally before the law, and not personally to Cheney.

In our country, unfortunately, the practice was implanted a long time ago: The senior chief is the master (in the "lordly" sense of this word) over a subordinate. He could do as he liked with a soldier and with a young officer. Trample on human dignity, humiliate and insult, not having any legal responsibility in the process.

But we will be fair to the end here as well: Today, despite the imperfection of the laws, relations between different categories of servicemen are beginning to change for the better. These relationships are more visibly beginning to be built not on the principle: The one who is right is the one who has more rights, but on the basis of the equality of people before the law. I know examples when an officer who did not please his chief for some reason was discharged from the Armed Forces, and the minister of defense, repudiating his earlier order, reinstated him in the service. And while there are not many cases of this kind, they, it seems to me, are an indication of real changes for the better in the Army.

So that these changes would occur more dynamically and not depend on someone's wishes or unwillingness, a law is needed that would in the same degree defend servicemen

regardless of their rank and the position they hold. This, in my opinion, is what the law "On the Status of the Serviceman of the USSR" should become. Unfortunately, it is still in the stage of development. However, like many other laws concerning military reform. For in the final analysis their content will depend on the new Union treaty, which also includes aspects of defense building.

As long as there are no new laws, there is no reduction in social tension in the army environment, which, I repeat, those for whom a strong army is a thorn in the side, are trying to exploit.

Everyone is equal before the law: the soldier, the officer, and the general. But, given our poverty, this is still not always feasible. I will take as an example the branch of troops that is close to me—aviation. Not long ago I had occasion to visit Hungary in the little town of Tekel, where our aviation garrison was situated. This was before the withdrawal of this unit to the territory of the USSR. Officers and their wives asked how the housing problem was going to be resolved. It assumed special criticality in that this situation developed in the VVS [Air Forces]: A technician is a kind of commoner, but a pilot is a special caste. Although, of course, all of this is quite relative—a pilot does not receive everything from the state that he rightfully should. But, nonetheless, there is this division. Furthermore, there is a USSR Ministry of Defense order according to which flight personnel are furnished housing first. The good intentions of the minister are understandable. A pilot's work involves risks, and he should not have to worry that his family is left without housing. But during conversations in Tekel, people asked the perfectly fair question: On what basis was such an order adopted? All regular military should have a guaranteed right to housing from the state. Or what; is an aviation technician made of different matter? He has the same kind of requirements and the same kind of a family. In the final analysis, the technician prepares an aircraft for flight. And the pilot is far from indifferent as to the attitude with which the technician does this.

The difference in salary is another matter. A pilot, since his work is associated with continuous risk, should receive a much higher salary. Thus, in the U.S. Armed Forces, in addition to basic pay, pilots receive flight pay of \$120 to \$400 depending on years of service. And for different tasks that are classified as having a risk to life, all categories of servicemen of the U.S. Armed Forces are paid an additional \$110 monthly. And this is fair.

To assign, as is done in our country today, a priority for the acquisition of housing on the basis of only belonging to one or another military specialty, or, as still happens, depending on the position occupied, is not only inhuman, but also illegal. Artificial benefits and privileges do not promote the strengthening of the army and the officer corps.

But should we measure our attitude toward the service only with the yardstick of social justice? Today, when, I

repeat, the country is living through alarming and troubling times. Do we have a right to forget that, along with officer shoulder boards, we carry on our shoulders the full weight of responsibility for the fate of the country? I think that a majority of the officers would be able to find the correct answer to this difficult question. The Army and the service have helped us to develop psychological stability in the face of difficulties and numerous problems. The officer corps displays tenacity and composure, and devotion to military duty, and it sees its destiny in honorable service to the Motherland.

I am convinced: The Army will not fall into the net of political intrigues, it will remain in the hands of state authority, and it will defend the interests of the country and of the people.

GlavPUR Ban of 'Slanderous' Play Detailed

91UN0478A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 47, 21 Nov 90 p 8

[Article by Yuriy Gladilshchikov: "Hostage: What Is Behind the Ban on the Play 'Construction Battalion' at the Central Academic Theater of the Soviet Army"]

[Text] **Preliminary self-justifications of the author.** In September of this year, namely on 10 September, at a meeting of the troupe of the Central Academic Theater of the Soviet Army [TsATSA] prior to the start of the season, it was announced... (aha!) announced by the chief of the theater, Col G.G. Tomilov (while I hide a note in my pocket, I will explain: he actually is the chief and not the director, but until recently the theater also had a political officer) that the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy [GlavPUR] had banned the play "Construction Battalion" [Stroybat] based on the story by Sergey Kaledin. Without seeing it. A priori. Because of the theme.

Actually, the play was "not recommended" much earlier, back in the spring, when, according to persistent rumors, a notice in the newspaper about it inopportune caught the eye of the USSR Minister of Defense, Marshal of the USSR D.T. Yazov (I do not know if this is true, but I cite rumors as a reflection of the frightened mass consciousness). In any event, it was namely at that time that a threat hung over the recently conceived play, but later it was as if they had permitted it to live. So... Then in June, there was a preliminary run-through of finished scenes. But, as before, no one prepared the scenery. Rumors were going around that the leadership at the GlavPUR was changing, and the probable new head, Col Gen N.I. Shlyaga, would not approve of the play. That is how it turned out: N.I. Shlyaga took over the position—and banned the play. From the lips of G.G. Tomilov. According to rumors: new times. According to rumors: issue an order on the ban signed and sealed by even the GlavPUR, and now it is afraid.

The scandal was written about by IZVESTIYA, KOMSO-MOLKA, and the MEGAPOLIS EKSPRESS. The point everywhere was this: theatrical Moscow was impatiently

awaiting the premiere of "Construction Battalion;" the play turns out to be brilliant; the TsATSA is indignant regarding the ban. Other than the fact that theatrical Moscow was ranting, raging, and waiting (who now would rush to a social performance?), everything else looked absolutely right. A clear and quite simple conflict.

But here, just as you like, an intuition. It appeared that something very important had been kept back. Not everything is so simple... No, the conflict with the GlavPUR is simple and clear—I also maintain this now. But there is something surrounding it and deeper about which no one has written...

What is the tenseness (nightmare) of the situation? What must be written? The version of Leonid Kheyfets. Leonid Kheyfets, the head director of the theater, talked confidently and with concentration, and at the same time at length, backing up his every thought with new arguments. Certainly, I thought later, this is how a well-known director should talk (well-known for 25 years now, since the time of "The Death of Ioann the Terrible" at the TsATSA) who only recently became the head of the theater for the first time, who knocked about foreign stages his entire life, and who was always dependent and had become accustomed to thinking out irrefutable arguments to convince those who have the right to say: "No!" The misconnection between the theater and the GlavPUR obviously made Kheyfets nervous. "Misha, stop reading, it is hard for me!" he became angry at the producer of "Construction Battalion," Mikhail Chumachenko, interrupting him in mid-sentence.

The main surprise was that there was by no means unanimity in the theater.

Here is what Kheyfets said (I am relaying the rough essence): by the will of fate, the TsATSA have become the focus of contemporary social, political, and psychological conflicts. Two times have clashed. Fear is at the basis of the conflict. Ghastly fear. People are afraid of predictions of a possible military coup and, just in case, do not want to damage relations with the army. They are afraid, and this is understandable, to be left without a job, without cachetic food orders (they are given once a week here), without vacuum cleaners and refrigerators.

The theater (Kheyfets said) committed three civic deeds. First, it decided for itself to select a new head director, not allowing him to be appointed as he had always been appointed. It is not important that it was Kheyfets who was named director. The fact of consciousness is important. The second deed was to put on the play "Pavel I" by Merezhkovskiy. Merezhkovskiy was considered persona non grata 2 years ago. The GlavPUR also did not recommend it, but the theater paid no attention to this. Finally, "Construction Battalion." A year ago, the decision to put on this play was almost unanimous. The theater saw this as its duty—after those lacquered plays about the army which were periodically performed on its stage. Only Vladimir Mikhaylovich Zeldin opposed this, saying that the story by Kaledin, by focusing only on the

negative, defames the army. A little later, other performers (with various arguments) joined Zeldin, but they still were few in number. Therefore, when Tomilov announced at the troupe meeting that the GlavPUR was closing the play, Kheyfets expected an outburst. But no one—not even the young actors, who before were willing for nights to repatriate “Construction Battalion”—no one was outraged. They began to be outraged... that there was a lousy hotel on the tours. And only in the end did three people “get worked up.” Igor Vadimovich Ledogorov (and he did not like the story very much), astonished by the fact that, just as before, it turns out that something can be banned without being seen and without knowing what it is about, stood up and said: art should not depend on whether Shlyaga has come or Shlyaga has gone.

People are sort of ceasing to be afraid, they straighten their shoulders: We were able! We were still able!.. But then the state, the administrative-command system meddles in—and they again shrink and fall silent—for a long time already. The state stifled and stifles attempts. It causes quarrels and breaks between people. Maybe tomorrow everyone will vote for consistency in dialogue with the GlavPUR, but it will not be surprising if only one person raises his hand in favor of “Construction Battalion.” People holding similar views yesterday—but today in the hall it is as if someone by chance turned his back, someone sneaked along the wall...

At the Main Political Directorate they told Kheyfets: the Soviet Army Theater is a special military subunit. What?! A military subunit? he exclaimed. No, do not juggle the facts, he objected. A special military subunit. In practice that is what it is. An exotic fact, but typical. The “Mrs America” competition—not the “Miss America” competition in which girls wear bathing suits, but the “Mrs America”—for some reason wished to rent the hall namely from the TsATSA. The theater receives from the Ministry of Defense a quite modest subsidy, much less than the MKhAT [Moscow Academic Art Theater] or the Maly Theater receive from the Ministry of Culture. The rent which the competition offered—these are intense tours—was for wear and tear. But when the Ministry of Defense found out about this project, they cut it off: No! There would be no “Mrs America”...

In the end, after thinking a bit, Kheyfets said: Our theater is now at a turning point. If we lose, it will be thrown back to the previous state of a theater that is controlled, silent, and servile. That is why one can consider that by fate of history its destiny has bordered on the destiny of the country. The future of Russia is being decided: Either it will be thrown back, or it will begin to clamber further...

What must be written. The version of opponents of “Construction Battalion.” Conversations with opponents, both those who were involved in the play (Aleksey Krychenkov, Aleksandr Mironov, and others) and those who did not rehearse in it (Vladimir Zeldin, Fedor Chekhanov, and Gennadiy Georgiyevich Tomilov, chief

of the theater), went along one scenario. The beginning was different. Someone believed that “Construction Battalion” in and of itself was a truthful thing; someone tried, on the heels of Zeldin, to criticize the play for slandering the army and sarcastically asked: “Would Walesa subsidize a play against himself?” (But why were they silent before? At one time I believed that the author himself, Sergey Kaledin, was partly to blame here, quite caustically talking with the theater’s leading actors—he knowingly divided the theater into conservatives and democrats, and this hurt the performers.) However, then everyone agreed. A second surprise awaited me.

There was no play “Construction Battalion,” as such. The play obviously did not turn out. The actors engaged in it were almost relieved to hear about the ban.

“Kheyfets planned to produce ‘Construction Battalion.’ But then he passed the job to two of his pupils, two producers he had put on the staff of the TsATSA—Mikhail Chumachenko and Igor Veller. Together they did not have a common concept; they pulled the play to different sides and completely exhausted the actors. The incident with the ban was exaggerated by Chumachenko, who is making a name for himself and publicizing his unsuccessful and still non-existent work.

Finally, the play could simply have been put on without permission of the GlavPUR. Will they provide money for costumes? Are they deliberately not making scenery? Excuses. Since the play is about the army, adapt the scenery and costumes from other plays as a last resort (this complaint from the mouths of professionals is doubtful, but I heard it more than once). The “Creative Workshops” of the RSFSR STD was willing to finance the play. It would have had super publicity: a play banished from the TsATSA by the GlavPUR! But Chumachenko and Veller did not go for this.

What about Kheyfets? First of all, these were his pupils. He wanted to appear bold, young, and progressive in front of them. Second, he does not always trust himself. Chumachenko and Veller were stifling him and forming his opinion.

Did Kheyfets come under someone else’s influence?

The tragedy of the situation. The author’s version. Many contemporary social and psychological problems have really come together at Commune Square. And the longer I think about them, the more I want to take a look at them—through Kheyfets. I must write about him. About the director who could not help but end up at the epicenter of the complicated conflict. Not even because it was a civic duty and the like. Everything is inevitable here: since he could not, indeed, live like before, he could not help but take certain steps—as a result, the conflict turned out also to be directed against him. Kheyfets ended up in an almost hopeless situation of a voluntary hostage (that is how I could write it: “A Hostage of Fate”—certainly from a writer’s standpoint).

Kheyfets says of himself that he is not a fighter. In principle. If I understood at least something about him,

this is indeed so. The years after his play "Secret Society" was banned in the TsATSA in the 1970's and he himself was banished from the theater (even before that there was the notorious incident when the GlavPUR did not admit his play "Death of Ioann the Terrible"), the years while he was wandering around foreign stages and they did not make for him the simplest scenery, they did not, and did not because all the shops catered to the head director, taught him to patiently seek irrefutable arguments for those having power. He understood during those years that you can never fight the conditions in which you work—barbarously bad conditions. You cannot permit them to control your consciousness. This is a question of survivability: otherwise you will lose your mind. One must look for a loophole. Work. Just work. Live by working. In the performance and for the performance. He often must have had to forgo pride. He especially tried to save his honor. Even in minute things. He was especially proud that he saved it. I heard how he said in an argument (and it was apparent that it was important for him as professional to live with such a thought): "Yes, I worked during the times when they were giving awards for Brezhnev, but I never lowered myself either to Brezhnev or to Bondarev" (he refused to put up Brezhnev when they were forcing it on him).

Having rushed into the fight for "Construction Battalion," it is as if Kheyfets wanted (subconsciously?) to get even for all previous compromises. In doing so, would it be his personal performance—maybe, but it seems to me that he would not be spoiling for a fight. He was spurred on by the thought that his pupils were doing this, that he (now already as head director) did not have the right to demean himself before them and must be persistent, bold, and consistent. He pushed aside rumors that not everything was all right within the play and that the actors were quietly beginning to grumble. They could excuse a coward.

A conflict between the theater and the GlavPUR was unavoidable when staging a harsh play about the army—during these years it would have taken place nevertheless. If it were not over "Construction Battalion," it would have been over something else. And Kheyfets could not help getting into this conflict—given the fact that he hates fighting, considering it a waste of creative forces.

Parallel to this, the TsATSA began to gain material independence. Not independence from the Ministry of Defense (what kind of a fool would refuse subsidies?), but independence in finances and projects associated with a huge, neglected building. A mass of projects emerged (their initiator was a good actor named German Yushko): from an underground parking garage and restaurant on the roof to leasing to a South Korean firm a "special box" with a special marshal's entrance from the street and a special bathroom where (in the box) theater performers were categorically not permitted. (A remark aside: today many creative people "have gone mad." The slogan of the day: "Now we will redo everything the way it should be, we will take power, and then..." People have become confused and are not able to understand what

they want more: To be free artists and producers, or is it unimportant who they are, as long as they are rich? As a result, there are becoming more producers and owners of newspapers than professional performers, directors, and journalists... But in the TsATSA, any commercial projects originally were creative projects and were prompted by poverty: the theater is poor; the scenery is destitute.)

The organizers could not help but devour the theater, and Kheyfets could not ignore them, understanding that when you begin thinking about conditions, you are not in the mood for work.

And here we are coming to perhaps the main point.

The projects evoked distrust among a number of performers. Among them were almost the same three People's Artists of the USSR who now also oppose "Construction Battalion." Of course, both fear and conservatism also had an effect. So did an unconscious irritation: it was the former theater where famous artists determined much. Now, novices have appeared who want to change ("destroy!") everything both within the theater and in its mutual relations with the world (with the GlavPUR), and famous artists are no longer sort of the bosses...

Something else also had an effect. Before the arrival of Kheyfets, the troupe was actually split up: Yeremin, Burdonskiy, and Unguryanu—the three directors of the theater each had his own sort of troupe within a troupe. The arrival of Kheyfets united the theater. Right after his arrival, the element of **faith** was very important. Why is it that everyone other than Zeldin supported "Construction Battalion" a year ago, but now some criticize it for its "slanderousness?" Did it infuriate Kaledin? Not just that. Kheyfets stood up for "Construction Battalion." They believed Kheyfets. But his "third season" in the theater had arrived. According to all laws of the theater, it is a season of trials for a head director. As a rule, it is in this season that discontent begins to manifest itself: the head director did not give someone a part (just try to give everyone a part if there are almost 100 performers in the troupe!), he said the wrong thing to someone... In such a situation, the struggle for "Construction Battalion," for fairness, which should have sort of united the troupe (What does it matter! One chief wanted it, it was authorized. Another did not want it, it was banned. Petty tyranny of the first order.), could not help but cause a **quarrel between artists and leave Kheyfets "vulnerable."** The version that reached the newspapers (the GlavPUR alone is at fault), where there was not a word about the contradictions within the play itself, contained a small particle of unintentional "lying" that undermined the faith. Chumachenko and Veller, unlike Kheyfets, were not schooled in patience (thank God?). They naturally prod Kheyfets toward an atrocity, toward worsening relations with the Political Directorate, toward an ultimatum: either "Construction Battalion," or he would

slam the door. Such an aggravation can, however, lead Kheyfets toward a split with the troupe that can no longer be taken lightly.

Kheyfets understood this. And he suddenly said to me: "To boil all this down to the Political Directorate is lying (that is his very word!—Yu.G.). It is not a problem with them; we have a problem, too." And he added something quite unexpected: maybe it is not such a bad thing that the actors said nothing when they were informed of the closing of "Construction Battalion." If they criticize the play among themselves, but said nothing at the meeting and hit no one, that means they still believe, and there is no serious split in the theater.

Such is the disposition for today. Status quo.

Kheyfets is seeking a meeting of the theater with the GlavPUR.

The GlavPUR is keeping silent. Uncertainty.

It seems to me that is why Kheyfets is not posing an ultimatum and that he does not relish the thought of slamming the door. The TsATSA is his home theater. Moreover, there will be compromises here or at another place. Here or at another place he is concerned not with wasting time on fuss but on putting on a play. This is a rare director today who wants to put on a play. This is a rare head director who in principle is against firing bad actors and against splits and revolutions in the theater. All splits in the theater, in his opinion, are immoral and destroy the theater (having talked with Kheyfets, I, 6 months ago having supported the split in the Yermolovskiy Theater, think: Maybe he is right? In the Yermolovskiy Theater, true, it was quite a different case).

It seems to me that there is no other path for the TsATSA other than a civil reconciliation within the theater (I ask you not to look everywhere for allusions and an excessively global meaning).

The GlavPUR should not terrorize "Construction Battalion" in order that its fate be determined within the theater and the theater itself understand its own contradictions.

The GlavPUR should stand aside.

Postscript. Two entries following the conflict.

1. As regards the problem: "In principle, did the GlavPUR have the right to ban the play?" That is, can a department—as a sign of gratitude for subsidy—ask its departmental theater not to touch upon topics that are painful for the department ("Do not bicker in your own house!")? Certainly, it can. But this is a purely legal problem. The problem is a lack of legal norms. The lack of a contract. Ideally, Kheyfets and the GlavPUR should sign a contract. What kind of contract they will sign—that is how it will be in the future.

Let us assume that in the contract the GlavPUR were to demand categorically that Kheyfets not put on plays like

"Construction Battalion," and Kheyfets leaves the theater. After all, it is not likely he would want to constrain himself with a lack of freedom! It will be hard to find a replacement. There are few good, unemployed directors now. The audience may forget the TsATSA altogether—and the theater would shamefully go broke. That means, the GlavPUR is still thinking about what conditions to propose. The problem is decided by the market—by the method of seriously haggling.

2. I would not want this article to be perceived as an article against the GlavPUR. It is not against the GlavPUR, it is for the art of the theater. Here is why the clarification is necessary: rumors are going around (again!) that the Ministry of Defense may abandon the obstinate theater altogether. If, of course, it cannot handle it. It was—and is no more. I want to start a rumor in reply that the author of this article considers such a decision extremely rash and would not wish this article to add fuel to the fire.

Democratic Union Organizer in Armed Forces Hit

*91UM0134A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
25 Nov 90 First Edition p 2*

[Article by Col V. Zhitarenko: "Who Are You, Lieutenant Terentyev? Or Some Clarity About the Secret Dealings Behind the Backs of the Officers"]

[Text] Lt Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Terentyev suddenly "showed up" in the Taman Motorized Rifle Division. He does not hide the fact that he belongs to the Democratic Union that has caused such a stir. Nor the fact that he is close to the founders of the secret "organization of officer democrats" called "Chest i sovest" [Honor and Conscience]. He also issues, under the same name, the newspaper of the "main board" of this organization and actively disseminates it.

Two issues of the newspaper have come out. The program of "Honor and Conscience" was published in the second issue, the one for September. The basic goals are the qualitative improvement of the armed forces, in particular of its officer corps, and, as a result, the raising of the prestige of the army as a whole. What are the ways to achieve this? The restoration of the character traits that supposedly belonged only to the officers "prior to the October Bolshevik revolution—such as honor, dignity, patriotism and loyalty to the interests of the Fatherland." The establishment of national subdivisions. The improvement of the material security of officers. The increase in the role and influence of the sergeant's echelon in the army. The elimination of the "entire system of GlavPUR" [Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy] in the army and the subordination of the party organizations of military collectives under territorial party organizations.

The structure? It is conceivable, nevertheless, to organize independent secretly operating individual groups: the main board (the ideological source of the movement, so to speak), basic and auxiliary.

The duties of the members of the organization? To keep secret the family names of its members—by the way, quite nebulous punishment “at the discretion of the board” is foreseen for divulging this. To serve the Fatherland faithfully and truthfully and not to stop serving in the army under any pretext. To be involved in the active propagandizing of their ideas. To improve themselves all the time spiritually and physically. To help in the advancement in the service of all known members of the organization on the basis of friendship and comradeship. To be respectful to them and, again, to observe and defend honor and dignity.

I already know and foresee the unconditional reaction of very many: in the first place, what state will tolerate the existence of a secret organization of officers? By the way, I do not know whether the version of “not permitting” is better here. Something else is apparent: in principle the organization could be legalized, for the declared objectives are certainly worth this. It is another matter that this does not suit those who are behind the “officer democrats.” But this is a separate topic.

By the way, there is no reason not to register the newspaper CHEST I SOVEST officially. But for the time being it does not make reference either to the publisher or to the editor. Out of the entire so-called main board, only Lt A. Terentyev has been “located.” That same September issue of the newspaper had two main articles signed by him and it is proposed that all proposals and articles be sent out in his name. It is important to register the newspaper, because now, along with the statement of actual problems in the army, it can freely make fun of the “emperor,” that is, the president of the country, the CPSU—the “personification of totalitarianism”—and the “incapable generals with little knowledge of military affairs.” Excuse me for such down-to-earth thinking, but to whom can the insulted complain?

But let me get back to the main thing. Despite the fact that some of the readers of CHEST I SOVEST have already called it a “rag,” one cannot exclude the possibility that some of the grains are falling on fertile soil. For the current situation of the officer and his family is indeed in need of very close attention and significant improvement. Just as are many other things in the army.

This is the chief paradox of the present time: they are repeating what has been written many times before in other newspapers, especially in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, but they present it as though it were the discovery of the universe. The main thing is just to make a lot of noise.

Let us emphasize that it is precisely from a “democratic movement” that CHEST I SOVEST is now coming forward. It is from that same movement whose representatives in soviets of different levels are doing everything they can to impede the acceptance of military reform and the provision of military personnel with housing that they are giving the “green light” to the propagandistic baiting of the army and creating such conditions in the national economy in which the only way out is the

involvement of military personnel in the potato harvest and even in the baking of bread for cities and villages. “Give us a professional army!” say the newspapers. “There is no money for this!” they say in the parliaments. “Officers are living like beggars!” it is said. And in real life “all the conditions are for the cooperative workers!”

The looked for someone like Terentyev for a long time in the military milieu. They found him at just the right moment, when the question of multiple parties was put on the agenda. The first issue of CHEST I SOVEST came out in June. It was shortly after that that one of the deputy commanders of the district troops found out about the existence of Lieutenant Terentyev, the “main manager,” and expressed his doubts: Is there any place for such a person in the army? Literally on the morning of the next day, “couriers” from the journal OGONEK were in the political section of the division: they said it was about the dismissed Terentyev. It was explained to them that even the opinion of a high-ranking official is no reason for a decision on such a serious personnel matter. True, they did not issue the desired receipt on this account—after all, it is not a financial operation. The lieutenant served and is still serving.

The storm, that is, that the army accepts only the Communist Party, did not come about. Although they did try to raise some “waves” in that same OGONEK. And Terentyev himself is well protected even now.

Who is protecting him? This is also a well-guarded secret, no less so than his membership in the military organization itself. We had a very thorough conversation on this subject with Aleksandr Alesandrovich. I hope that it was just as frank. So, according to his words, the organization CHEST I SOVEST has no more than 20 people in all the armed forces (“We are only able to make a little noise.”). A certain civilian is helping him to put out the newspaper, including the thorough editing of his articles, giving the most caustic “verdicts” to the party, the state and socialism.. A service member publishes it in the Baltic region. And another civilian has put and is putting the lieutenant “on the path of truth.” There is no doubt that he has achieved much in this field.

Terentyev is the son of an officer. But he never even saw his father, who died 21 years ago. Even as a little boy, however, he had no doubts about what he would do. He received a gold medal upon finishing the Suvorov School in Kiev and he also made perfect grades at the Moscow Higher Combined-Arms Command School. He was one of the first of his classmates to be a candidate for membership in the CPSU. He was more than an activist in the Komsomol.

He calls the one who lured him away from the CPSU to the Democratic Union “padre.” His godfather was victorious in the duel with the school’s powerful system of propagandists and instructors of social disciplines and even with the position of his mother, a convinced communist, according to Lieutenant Terentyev.

Although it is possible, I think, to demonstrate a lot to Terentyev. Our conversation with him was not easy.

"I became a member of the Democratic Union when I understood that the CPSU is a party of criminals...."

I ask him to be more specific. Are the hundreds of communist officers of the division also criminals? Terentyev toned it down a bit: he means only the top people of the party. The current group? No, just the previous one, of course. Above all the people who carried out the revolution in October 1917. I again ask him to be more specific: Was it a palace revolt or a government or military overthrow? Or, since the masses followed the Bolsheviks, is it more logical to call it a revolution?

"Well, in any case, it was not a socialist...."

That is how the subsequent "political battles" went with him. And it became clear that he is merely "well provided" with DS and, in general, "democratic" terminology. He has no life experience at all. Just take away some of that vanity.

Something else is dangerous in the case at hand. It is the attack against the honor and dignity of the army as such. Whether or not this is what Terentyev wants, the program and statute of "Honor and Conscience," the articles in its newspaper and many verbal statements by the lieutenant leave no doubt that this is the case. Again, there is the skillful directing of the "padre" and together they strike out against the army. And they have no intention of ending this spectacle. They are hardly about to register the organization publicly or the newspaper in accordance with the Law on the Press. They need opposition and a war of nerves. On the other hand, can officers, even if they are not communists, calmly watch this?

Do they really agree that only the czar's officers were honest, dignified, patriotic and loyal to the interests of the Fatherland, as the program of "Honor and Conscience" states? Who has the right to accuse our fathers and grandfathers who fell in the fields of the Great Patriotic War of dishonesty? Can it be that the dozens of the Taman soldiers who plunged into the mouth of the fourth reactor of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station were not patriots? Even more of them passed through the crucible of the battles in Afghanistan. Is it their fault that they were ordered to fight in a foreign land and do their wounds hurt less because of that? And how many of these wounds were received in training combat, how many gray hairs did they acquire and how many nerve cells did they lose in recent years, since they began to induct into the army convicts, the hopelessly sick, those who can hardly speak Russian and, most recently, those who have received the blessing of the parliaments of other republics not to serve at all? Yes, they dug potatoes as well, for in contrast to Terentyev and his "padre," who think that it would be better for them to rot in the fields, the officers understood: the people must survive in this very difficult time for the country.

The organization "Honor and Conscience" has some nice words to say about the fight against protectionism. But how is one to understand its statutory requirement "on the basis of friendship and comradeship, help in the advancement in the service of all known members of the organization"? Of all! And only on this basis! That is, aside from knowledge, ability and merits in the collective.... How does this protectionism differ from that of the past? At least the latter has not been legalized or attained the form of statutory obligations.

About the needs of service personnel, including those in the reserve. Terentyev supposedly will fight unwaveringly for the social rights of service personnel. But as for the fact that, let us say, in the Baltic region many rights of this category of citizens have already been infringed upon legislatively, the lieutenant says disparagingly: it is not worth getting involved in the affairs of the republic parliaments. No one would want to think this but the circumstance that CHEST I SOVEST is published precisely in those areas forces one to ask: Can one really selectively and profitably approach the question of who should be defended and who should not?

Our acquaintance with Terentyev began in a very unusual way: in the barracks, a sergeant and a private began to wrestle with one another. Without saying a word, Terentyev simply gave one of them a cuff to the back of the neck. If someone had revealed this fact at a meeting of the Democratic Union, the conclusion would have been clear: "The officers are maiming the soldiers, get the officers!" I heard something else from Terentyev:

"Well, what about it? All of the commanders use a heavy hand. Except, perhaps, for one...."

Really?

And how should one relate to such an episode? The first one to tell me about it was the division commander, Maj Gen V. Marchenkov. Knowing that Terentyev is a member of the Democratic Union and that the union is implacable toward any authority, the general demanded that Terentyev carry out all orders and instructions, otherwise there would be disciplinary action and perhaps a court martial. Terentyev responded by attacking: watch out what orders and instructions you give me. Terentyev said to me:

"What if the order is to fire at the people? Of course I will not carry out...."

"Do you think that the division commander can give such an order and other officers will carry it out?

"Yes, many will...."

Terentyev, by the way, is certain that in Baku the army fired at unarmed people.

Of course he was not in Baku. And he could not be in Chernobyl or Afghanistan—he finished school just a year ago. But he is very definite about everything. Does he know another point of view from the newspapers,

besides MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, and from the journals, other than OGONEK? No. The only information that he gets is purposefully anti-army! The "padre" spares neither time nor effort nor resources: one must buy paper and ink for the newspaper and send it from the distant Baltic region.

I am not writing these lines to put the lieutenant in a bad light. Let him be a member of the Democratic Union, we do not have to love that. But neither can one tolerate his unfounded verbal abuse of the Communist Party. That is all the more true in regard to the spitting at the army and its officer corps. It is not just the political section that must have its say.

This is all the more necessary because the battle for the officer Terentyev is far from lost. He does indeed serve diligently! He needs to realize one other thing: those who call themselves democrats are by no means preparing him for the role of "main manager." He ought to ask himself: "Who are you, Lieutenant Terentyev?" And if he were to answer wisely and honestly, he would say: I am the one who against his own will is taking aim at the very honor, dignity and decency of officers....

Of course life itself can force him to look differently at his role in the overall structure of the army. But our time is too turbulent and it could be that someone on the outside might prompt the young officer to do something that he will be ashamed of. Youthful maximalism is hardly capable of rapid reassessments. And very important here is the experience of life and the wisdom of his much more experienced fellow servicemen, who are by no means less devoted to the army and to serving the Fatherland.

Moiseyev at Ukrainian Supreme Soviet

91UM0193A Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
1 Dec 90 p 1

[Article by Olena Yashchenko: "Combat Reconnaissance"]

[Text] Mikhail Alekseyevich Moiseyev had not yet begun his speech to the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, but the deputies already understood: the deputy minister of defense of the USSR, chief of the general staff of the Armed Forces of the Union, came to find out whether our parliament would agree to revoke its decision that the draft of young men of the republic to serve outside republic borders be done only on a voluntary basis. We are aware that the center has not fully understood the reasons for the individual republics' declarations of their desire for sovereignty and that in our delegations' discussions with the Ministry of Defense of the USSR last October, the voice of the republic was not immediately taken seriously. But one would not have thought that after all the recent events, a military representative of the center would rush so eagerly into battle at the rostrum of the Ukrainian parliament, throwing epithets right and left and almost accusing us of treason. Over 17 percent of the conscript

resources of the Union are in the Ukraine, said Moiseyev, emphasizing each word; to take them out is to cause the army irreparable harm. There would be nobody to serve in the services, to do patrol duty, defend the borders, not to mention harvest crops. Thus the incompetent decision of the Ukrainian parliament will lead directly to the collapse of the system of collective security. And in order to return Ukrainian youths to the territory of their own republic, four conscription periods will be needed, that is—two years. When the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed the resolution about releasing conscripted students from the Soviet Army, this also caused serious harm: 40 ships and submarines were laid up; in the Western army group, we were obliged to leave one thousand tanks without crew; across 60 thousand kilometers of state borders, where radar reconnaissance companies serve, we have increased the workload per person. In a word, it was difficult to understand from Moiseyev's speech who works for whom: the Ministry of Defense for the Council of Ministers, or the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with its unconsidered decisions, for the Ministry of Defense. And then an ultimatum was thrown to the people's deputies of Ukraine: if the republic does not give the Union its new conscripts, it will be necessary to put off discharging soldiers who have already completed their term of duty. One can only imagine what would happen in this case: one set of mothers of soldiers rising up against another... Perhaps the Chief of the General Staff should not have made such a proposal. But he declared categorically that he is protecting the interests of the Russian state. The parliament exploded with indignation. And the general of the army had to apologize, saying that he made that statement because he regards as Mother Russia all of her Soviet republics. No comment is needed.

The Ministry of Defense of the USSR and the parliament of our republic have come into conflict. In the view of the former, the deputies' unconsidered decisions have led to an increase in the numbers of deserters, and anti-army propaganda, to the deaths of 12 officers and warrant officers in the Ukraine. But our deputies have a different concern: how to defend the 184 soldiers who chose to leave the service and return to the Ukraine. The talk at present is not about mutual accusations, but about a common resolution of the situation of conflict. The deputies did not hear any proposals from the center on how this could be done. And the position of our parliament was summed up by the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk: we have no intention of going back on our decision, but our resolution was a reaction to the fact that restructuring in the army is going extremely slowly. We in the Ukraine are not raising the question of the collapse of the army or the defense system, but we want to solve problems which for us are very difficult.

The positions of the two sides have been stated. The fall conscription continues in the Ukraine; young men of the republic are also marching off beyond her borders.

However, this time, it is supposed to be on the basis of a written declaration of the conscript himself, in which he gives his agreement.

Tver Soviet Bans Overflights

91UM0211C Moscow *TRUD* in Russian 1 Dec 90 p 1

[Article by G. Volovich: "Keep the Sky Blue"]

[Text] The Tver City Soviet adopted a decision to ban flights by military aircraft over the oblast center.

This by no means signifies that the deputies intended to declare "their" piece of sky a demilitarized zone. The reasons lie elsewhere. First of all Article 50 of the USSR Aviation Code is being violated. It says that flights over populated points are permitted at an altitude that allows, in case of a malfunction, the landing to be made outside these populated points. The airplanes that are taking off and landing practically in the city of Tver simply do not have such an altitude. The heavy craft cross directly above the central streets of the city, and so low that they create a real danger to the population.

I doubt that the Air Force command will immediately shut down the suburban airfield. But the deputies hope that their decision will push the Ministry of Defense to begin negotiations on "turning" the runway away from the city and also on rebuilding the airfield so that it can also serve civilian aircraft.

'Shield' Conference Begins in Moscow

91UM0211D Moscow *KRASNAYA ZVEZDA* in Russian 16 Dec 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by Lt Col A. Oliynik: "Shielders' and Glasnost"]

[Text] On 15 December the congress of "Shchit" ["Shield"], the Union for the Social Protection of Servicemen, Reservists, and Members of Their Families, began in Moscow. It will run two days. Its chief purposes are to summarize the results of the social movement in its more than one year of existence, adopt a new edition of its program and amend its by-laws, and elect its executive organs. Guests from the FRG, France, and Spain, representing similar organizations in their countries, have come to the congress.

Unfortunately, it is not now possible to tell about the start of the congress and its work in greater detail. An unprecedented event for the age of glasnost occurred. The board of directors of the union refused to accredit the *KRASNAYA ZVEZDA* reporter; in other words, they did not allow me to report on the work of the congress from, as they say, the scene. V. Urazhtsev, co-chairman of the union board of directors and RSFSR peoples deputy, justified the denial by saying that "the newspaper had disappointed him personally and the whole movement a number of times." *PRAVDA*, *SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA*, *MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA* and a number of other publications were not invited to the congress either.

This is all very strange, isn't it? A movement that claims to give social protection to servicemen and members of their families and loudly proclaims how democratic it is and how independent of state structures, including the USSR Ministry of Defense, itself operates in a way that is, to put it mildly, far from democratic. It is more in the spirit of the sadly memorable times of stagnation—keep them out! It appears that the leaders of "Shchit" are not interested in objective reporting on the work of the congress by journalists of different publications. And that is a shame.

Lithuanian Territorial Guard Service Law Issued

91UN0684A Vilnius *ECHO LITVY* in Russian 19 Dec 90 p 2, 20 Dec 90 p 3

[Lithuanian Republic law "On Territorial Guard Service" issued by the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council in Vilnius on 20 November]

[19 Dec 90, p 2]

[Text]

I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1: A serviceman is a defender of the Lithuanian State.

Article 2: A serviceman may serve on active Territorial Guard duty, in the reserves or in retirement.

Any individual on active Territorial Guard service is regarded as an active-duty serviceman.

Any individual discharged into the reserves from active Territorial Guard duty is considered a reserve serviceman.

Any individual discharged from active duty or the reserve into retirement for reasons of health or age is considered a retired serviceman.

Article 3: Service personnel consist of soldiers, sergeants and seamen, sergeants and officers of the naval service. The ranks of soldier and seaman are equivalent.

Sergeants and soldiers studying at military schools are cadets.

Servicemen who have served their required term of Territorial Guard service and continue their service either voluntarily or in fulfillment of conscription requirements are considered extended-service personnel.

Article 4: Servicemen take the following oath to defend the Lithuanian Republic:

"I (first and last names) do swear in the presence of my comrades to protect the Lithuanian State and its independence with all my strength and with my life;

I swear to comply conscientiously with the laws of the Lithuanian Republic and the commands of my superiors;

I swear to guard inviolate any secrets entrusted to me and to thwart all objectives of Lithuania's enemies.

So help me God!"

(Note: The oath may also be uttered without the final line.)

Procedures for taking the oath are to be established by the domestic Territorial Guard service code.

Article 5: Servicemen are obligated:

- to protect state and official secrets and Territorial Guard secrets and related documents and objects;
- to perform all military obligations conscientiously, regardless of threat to their own health or life;
- to observe without exception all laws and charter requirements and to comply with them;
- to deepen their knowledge and develop their skills.

Servicemen are forbidden to carry out orders or perform other actions which will result in violation of their oath or which are clearly illegal in nature. Servicemen are required to report all such incidents to their immediate superior or other higher-ranking commander immediately.

Article 6: Servicemen perform active Territorial Guard duty:

1. in State Border Guard units;
2. in separate Territorial Guard units established by the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet;
3. in Internal Troops units;
4. in militarized Fire-fighting formations, formations for the Protection of Important State Facilities and the Rescue Services.

The procedure for Territorial Guard service is to be set forth in disciplinary regulations and regulations for the Internal Service, Guard [karaulnoy] Service, Line [stroevoy] Service and various other Territorial Guard services.

Article 7: With the consent of the Department of the Territorial Guard individuals subject to Territorial Guard conscription may at their own request perform active service in the police, civil aviation, merchant marine or railways of the Lithuanian Republic.

Article 8: The Department of the Territorial Guard assigns servicemen according to their service specializations, given their level of education, specialization, health status, family situation and readiness for service. The basic military services are equal and correspond to the various types of active Territorial Guard units. Servicemen in the basic specializations may be assigned to service in a more narrow specialized field.

Article 9: In order to regulate relations between servicemen and to note their length of service and skills level the following military ranks are hereby established:

SOLDIERS:

—Private—Private First Class

SERGEANTS:

—Junior Sergeant [mladshiy serzhant]—Sergeant [serzhant]—Senior Sergeant [starshina]

OFFICERS:

JUNIOR OFFICERS:—Junior Lieutenant—Lieutenant—Senior Lieutenant—Captain

FIELD GRADE OFFICERS:—Major—Lieutenant Colonel—Colonel

GENERAL OFFICERS:

—General

SEAMAN

—Senior Seaman [yefreytor]

PETTY OFFICERS:

—Junior Petty Officer—Petty Officer—Warrant Officer [Michman]

NAVAL SERVICE OFFICERS:

—Naval Junior Lieutenant—Naval Lieutenant—Naval Senior Lieutenant—Captain-Lieutenant—Naval Captain—Commodore-Lieutenant—Commodore

Article 10: Noncommissioned ranks correspond to the following duties:

- junior sergeant: squad leader;
- sergeant: platoon leader;
- senior sergeant: company sergeant or equivalent duties.

Officers' ranks correspond to the following duties:

- junior lieutenant and lieutenant: platoon commander;
- senior lieutenant: platoon commander or head of a team [komanda];
- captain: company commander or other equivalent duty;
- major: deputy battalion commander or other equivalent duty;
- lieutenant-colonel: deputy regimental commander or other equivalent duty;
- colonel: regimental commander, deputy brigade commander or other equivalent duty;
- general: appropriate duties as determined by special Lithuanian Government decree.

Article 11: Ranks are awarded according to the table of ranks outlined in Article 9 of the present law. The primary officer's rank may be awarded to cadets upon graduation from military schools or courses.

The foremost officer's rank is always awarded to the Prime Minister of the Lithuanian Republic.

Other military ranks are awarded as follows:

- private first class, junior sergeant and sergeant: by the unit commander;
- senior sergeant: by the brigade (regimental) commander or the commander of an equivalent unit;
- officers up to the rank of lieutenant colonel, inclusive: by the General Director of the Department of the Territorial Guard;

—colonel: by the Prime Minister of the Lithuanian Republic;
—general: by the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council.

Article 12: Officers may be stripped of rank only by court order or upon the loss of Lithuanian citizenship.

Sergeants and soldiers may be stripped of rank by court order and also under circumstances set forth in the Territorial Guard service disciplinary regulations.

A serviceman who receives a criminal conviction shall not be awarded any higher rank. Upon closure of a criminal case or return of a judgement of acquittal rank shall be awarded on the date prescribed based on length of service.

Article 13: Servicemen shall wear uniforms as established by the Lithuanian Republic Government.

Officers and extended-service personnel may wear civilian clothing while off duty.

Soldiers and sergeants on active Territorial Guard duty may wear civilian clothing according to policy established by the Department of Territorial Guard and with the permission of their unit commander.

Article 14: Servicemen in uniform are permitted to wear orders, medals and insignia issued by other states as well. Policy on the wearing of these is to be set by the Department of the Territorial Guard.

Article 15: Policy on official correspondence and statements on official matters in the mass media by servicemen in military units and on active Territorial Guard service is to be established by the Department of the Territorial Guard.

It is forbidden to indicate one's assignment or unit in personal correspondence.

Article 16: Officers and extended-service personnel may with the permission of the Department of Territorial Guard engage in other work while off duty.

Servicemen on active Territorial Guard duty who participate in commercial ventures using their own funds may not be officials of that enterprise or of administrative, executive and control organs.

Article 17: Particularly outstanding servicemen or servicemen who have died valiantly may be listed on unit rolls with the consent of the General Director of the Department of Territorial Guard.

Article 18: Servicemen may be transferred from one place of service to another within the same unit or from one unit to another unit in connection with service requirements or at their personal request.

Transfers of individuals serving on active duty on the basis of conscription may be carried out solely in connection with service requirements.

Article 19: The commander of an individual unit or combined unit has a right to order servicemen or individual subunits to carry out official orders outside the bounds of their place of regular service or deployment for a specified period of time.

Only the General Director of Territorial Guard, with the government's permission, may order servicemen on active Territorial Guard duty abroad on official duty.

The procedures for and duration of such assignments are to be established by the Department of the Territorial Guard.

Article 20: A unit commander may relieve a serviceman in the commander's unit from performance of duties for a 10-day period under the following circumstances:

- a. the death or serious illness of a family member or close relative of the serviceman;
- b. other reasons deemed important by the unit commander in consideration of the serviceman's best interests.

Article 21: Servicemen may be recalled from leave by the commander who assigned them leave or by a higher-ranking officer.

Travel expenses shall be paid to servicemen recalled from leave. The remainder of the leave may be granted at another time, but not later than six months after return to the unit.

Upon announcement of mobilization servicemen on leave are required to return to their units at once.

Article 22: If a serviceman fails to report back from leave on time the unit commander shall after three days begin searching for him and shall submit a report of this to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. A serviceman not located within one month shall be dropped from the unit rolls.

Article 23: An official record is kept on each serviceman during his period of active service; this record is the principal document concerning his service time. The form of this record and procedures for record keeping are to be determined by the Department of Territorial Guard.

II. SERVICE IN THE OFFICER CORPS

Article 24: The officers' corps receives new officers:

1. upon the granting of the rank of junior lieutenant to servicemen on active Territorial Guard duty upon successful completion of special courses;
2. upon entry of reserve officers and members of internal affairs agencies onto active Territorial Guard service;
3. upon mobilization of reserve officers;
4. upon entry of military school graduates onto service.

Article 25: Awarding of higher ranks to officers takes place on the basis of seniority after service in a given rank for the following periods:

—junior lieutenant, not less than two years;

- lieutenant, not less than two years;
- senior lieutenant, not less than two years;
- captain, not less than three years;
- major, not less than four years;
- lieutenant colonel, not less than four years;
- colonel, not less than three years.

The rank of general is awarded upon appointment to that duty.

Article 26: In order for a higher rank to be awarded to an officer the following conditions must exist:

1. completion of service at a lower rank for the required period;
2. necessary length of command or service (policy in this regard is to be established by the General Director of the Department of Territorial Guard);
3. vacancy in an authorized position equivalent to the new rank;
4. a positive recommendation.

Article 27: Officers who receive higher military education may be awarded the next higher rank one year ahead of the periods required by Article 25 of the present law.

These statutes apply to officers who receive higher civilian education only in the event that they are serving in the specialized field thus acquired.

Article 28: Officers are assigned to the following types of official duties:

1. permanent;
2. temporary.

Article 29: Assignment to official duties and release from official assignment are carried out as follows in the case of:

1. the commander of a brigade, division or equivalent combined unit—by the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council;
2. the commander of a regiment or equivalent unit—by the Prime Minister of the Lithuanian Republic;
3. the commander of a company or battalion or the deputy commander of a regiment—by the General Director of the Department of the Territorial Guard;
4. commanders of units and heads of teams—by the brigade or division commander.

Article 30: The Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council has the right to relieve officers of any of the duties listed in Article 29 of the present law.

Article 31: Officers may be relieved of their positions:

1. upon appointment to a higher position;

2. upon appointment to other equivalent duties in connection with service requirements or at their personal request;

3. on the basis of a fitness report;

4. as a result of violations of discipline as outlined in the Territorial Guard disciplinary regulations;

5. following a criminal conviction;

6. in accordance with a court sentence;

7. upon loss of Lithuanian Republic citizenship;

8. on the basis of a Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council decree.

Article 32: Fitness reports on active-duty officers are to be made according to procedures established by the Department of the Territorial Guard.

Article 33: In peacetime officers may be relieved of their Territorial Guard duties:

1. at their personal request;
2. upon reaching a specific age;
3. for health reasons;
4. on the basis of a fitness report;
5. on the basis of a court sentence;
6. in accordance with a Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council decree.

Article 34: Officers who complete courses of study at military schools paid for with Lithuanian State Budget funds may at their own request be relieved of active Territorial Guard service upon completion of service for a period of time which compensates for the expense of their education. If an officer is unable to serve out that period of time due to subjective reasons he shall reimburse these expenses or a portion thereof to the State Budget.

Policy on relieving active-duty officers from their duties as described in this article is to be set by the Lithuanian Republic Government.

Article 35: In peacetime officers are discharged to the reserves at the following ages:

1. lieutenant—age 45;
2. captain—age 47;
3. major—age 51;
4. lieutenant colonel and colonel—age 55;
5. general—age 60.

At the request of the Department of the Territorial Guard and by permission of the Lithuanian Republic Government the service of an active-duty officer may be extended, but not by more than five years.

Article 36: The procedure for discharge of officers from active Territorial Guard service should not take over one-and-a-half months.

Article 37: Procedures governing officers' active Territorial Guard service and reserve status are to be established by the Lithuanian Republic Government.

Officers and Lithuanian citizens accepted for service in the Territorial Guard system at their own request may be awarded their rank at the time of their entry into service and have their previous period of service counted in full.

[20 Dec 90, p 3]

[Text]

III. SERVICE IN THE NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICER CORPS

Article 38: Noncommissioned officers serve in Territorial Guard units in the following ways:

1. on active Territorial Guard service;
2. on extended service.

Assignment of noncommissioned officers to official duties and their release from official duties are carried out:

1. for junior sergeants and sergeants, by the unit commander;
2. for senior sergeants, by the brigade (or regimental) commander or commander of an equivalent combined unit.

Article 39: Extended-service noncommissioned officers are accepted for service in Territorial Guard units from among active-duty or reserve servicemen who have served the required length of time or have been in the reserves for not more than two years, given their level of education, health status, family situation and other service training.

Article 40: Extended-service noncommissioned officers serve on active duty until the following ages:

1. junior sergeants—age 40;
2. sergeants—age 45;
3. senior sergeants (warrant officers)—age 50.

Extended-service noncommissioned officers who reach the established age limit may at the request of their superiors and with an order from the brigade (or regimental) commander be left on active Territorial Guard duty in order to fulfill the length of service required to receive a pension.

Article 41: Extended-service noncommissioned officers who have served in Territorial Guard units not less than three years may be discharged from active duty at their personal request. Procedures governing noncommissioned officers' active duty service and reserve status are to be established by the Department of Territorial Guard.

IV. SOLDIERS & SEAMEN

Article 42: Individuals subject to Territorial Guard obligation and volunteers perform active Territorial Guard service in accordance with the provisional Lithuanian Republic Law on Territorial Guard Service.

Labor contracts with enterprises, institutions and organizations which employ individuals who enter Territorial Guard service are terminated according to the procedure set forth in Point 3, Part 1, Article 39 of the Lithuanian Republic Labor Code.

Article 43: Individuals subject to Territorial Guard service obligation and volunteers prior to their arrival in their Territorial Guard units are called recruits.

From the moment of their arrival in their units until taking the oath recruits are called young soldiers, and while studying in courses and after taking the oath are referred to as privates.

Article 44: Disciplined privates who have performed their official duties in a model fashion for not less than six months may by order of their unit commander be awarded the rank of private first class.

Article 45: Leave is not to be granted to soldiers:

1. who have disciplinary penalties outstanding;
2. who are ill with contagious diseases;
3. who have visited regions of epidemics.

Article 46: Servicemen who have served in Territorial Guard units for a period of time determined by the provisional Lithuanian Republic Law on Territorial Guard Obligation shall be discharged from active Territorial Guard service to the reserves by order of their unit commanders.

Article 47: Reserve military service is to be arranged according to procedures set forth by the present law, the provisional Lithuanian Republic Law on Territorial Guard Obligation and the Department of the Territorial Guard.

V. SOCIAL GUARANTEES

Article 48: Personnel of enterprises, institutions and organizations who are on a waiting list for apartments through their place of work and who volunteer for permanent military service in a subunit of the Department of the Territorial Guard will be transferred to the waiting list of the rayon (or city) government of their place of residence.

Individuals who transfer to jobs in the Territorial Guard system may not be evicted for that reason from official housing or dormitories without other housing being made available to them.

Article 49: Extended-service officers shall be provided with official apartments, and if no such apartments are available shall be paid a housing allowance.

Article 50: The size of and procedures for service payment to officers and extended-service personnel are to be established by the Lithuanian Republic Government.

Article 51: The state guarantees accident insurance to active-duty military personnel. Servicemen who become disabled during Territorial Guard service while performing their official duties are guaranteed social security by the state.

The extent of pensions and social guarantees for servicemen in the defense system are to be established by Lithuanian Republic laws and procedures for their use by the Lithuanian Republic Government.

Article 52: The family or dependents of an officer, noncommissioned officer or extended-service serviceman who dies during performance of his official duties are to be paid a one-time compensation payment, the amount of which is to be determined by the Lithuanian Republic Government.

Article 53: Mail sent by individuals subject to Territorial Guard obligation and serving on active duty as well as official correspondence from the Department of Territorial Guard shall be delivered free of charge.

Article 54: Servicemen are issued the following types of leave:

1. regular;
2. special.

Salary is paid to servicemen while they are on leave. Leave time is counted as part of active duty time served.

Servicemen performing active duty service under military service obligation may receive no more than 12 calendar days of regular leave.

Article 55: Servicemen on active military duty may be granted special leave of up to four months. In exceptional cases the Department of the Territorial Guard may grant up to four additional months of unpaid leave to officers and extended-service personnel.

VI. CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Article 56: The acquisition, registration, storage, issue and conditions for use of weapons and special equipment for the performance of official duties are regulated by procedures established by the Department of Territorial Guard and the Lithuanian Republic Government.

Article 57: Procedures governing the carrying of weapons while off duty are to be established by the Internal Defense Service Regulations in accordance with Lithuanian Republic laws.

Article 58: Matters pertaining to Territorial Guard service in cities and rayons are to be decided by regional departments of the Department of Territorial Guard. Police officials who arrest active-duty servicemen for violations of public order and other violations of order are required to report this to the Department of Territorial Guard.

Article 59: Officers and extended-service personnel who are closely related to one another (i.e. father, stepfather, brother, stepbrother, son, stepchild, as well the brother, father or child of a spouse) are forbidden to serve in the same unit if their service involves direct subordination of one to the other, with one having the right to command the other.

Article 60: Officers and extended-service personnel accepted for service in the defense system conclude a temporary service contract with the Department of Territorial Guard. A trial period of not longer than six months is to be set for these individuals.

Article 61: Servicemen who are religious believers perform religious rituals in accordance with procedures set forth by the internal defense service.

*V. Landsbergis, chairman,
Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council;
Vilnius, 20 November 1990*

Ethnic Clash Within Unit in Chope

*91UM0211B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 22 Dec 90 p 4*

[Article by S. Pluzhnikov: "Incident in Chope"]

[Text] A fight broke out among servicemen—there were about 100 of them—of different nationalities in a military unit stationed in the city of Chope. The intervention of officers only inflamed passions. The soldiers moved to the approach to the ammo dumps and unit headquarters. The guards opened fire.

Seventeen people were wounded in the crossfire.

Ninety soldiers abandoned the unit area. Half of them have already been arrested. The location of the others is still unknown.

The telephone news center will continue its round-the-clock work on Monday, 24 December. Telephone: 257-26-26.

Ministry of Defense Building Fenced Off

*91UM0211E Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 25 Dec 90 p 1*

[Unattributed photo caption: "The Ministry in Defense"]

[Text] Long before "zero" hour the USSR Ministry of Defense went into a solid defense. The order was given yesterday morning to surround the ministry with an iron fence. Soldiers and officers took up positions behind the fence. Were they guarding military secrets, or was it just an exercise? It was learned later that the alarm was a result of the intention of the mothers of soldiers killed in peacetime to protest to the minister.

Zhitarenko Attacks Urazhtsev of 'SHIELD'

91UM0221A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
25 Dec 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Colonel V. Zhitarenko, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "Shchit" ["Shield"] Needs New Sword Bearers." The first three paragraphs of the text consist of introductory "boxed material" by the author, set off in the original from the rest of the text.]

[Text] On the day that this issue of the newspaper comes out, V. Urazhtsev, the leader of the so-called union for the social protection of servicemen, reservists, and members of their families, may possibly be leading a recurrent noisy action against the army. Mothers of soldiers who have been deceived by him once more intend to "hold up to shame" both the minister of defense and a typical soldier's mother, M. Kirbasova, who dared to understand and to declare publicly who this Urazhtsev is.

Without taking a great risk I can assume that this action will be entered as one of the "celebrated" lines in Urazhtsev's report about "Shchit's" work, regardless of whether this is a report at the 3rd congress of the organization or an interview with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI or ARGUMENTY I FAKTY...

With regard to periodical publications of another kind, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, PRAVDA, and especially KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, this worrier about servicemen's social protection would simply prefer to hide information from them. In any case, he very strictly forbade correspondents of these newspapers to work at "Shchit's" 2nd congress that ended a week ago. What secrets are there?

Can it really be they who are listed in the proclaimed program and rules of the union? But it is nothing of the kind: servicemen and members of their families, now as never before, need to have their honor, dignity, and improvement in work and living conditions protected. Anyone who doubts this will be wrong three times over!

Is Urazhtsev trying to prevent publicity of a certain secret about the "secret membership" of "Shchit" officers? Well, as a people's deputy of the RSFSR, one would think that it is clear to him that these same people will hardly stand for the presence of underground organizations in the Armed Forces. In any case, authoritative organs will have to sort this out. Although, according to already available data, both the number of members of the organization (over 22,000) and the number of organizations as such (around 500) are no more than Urazhtsev's usual bluff, as he tries as hard as he can to provide a meaning and importance not so much to "Shchit's" work as to himself.

And if we are now speaking of the most "terrible secret," revealed at the 2nd congress of the union, it consists of the following: a year after the previous congress, for all practical purposes nothing was done for the servicemen, and whatever was done only harmed them.

Nevertheless, the demagogue is again on his "steed": he has now become the sole leader of the organization. How this person can come out of the water in a dry state every time merits special attention. Meanwhile, we shall briefly quote from his report at the 2nd congress. Incredibly hollow, but at the same time ambitious, this report caused anger and indignation in those who sought truth and justice, and therefore decided to participate in the work of the congress. But having become disappointed in what they saw and heard, they hurried to our editorial office. Why, they say, is a military newspaper silent about Urazhtsev's blunt speculations on the difficulties in the army, the sorrow of soldiers' mothers, and the complexities of military reforms?

And so, from Urazhtsev's report:

"Within 'Shchit' a legal service was organized... With the aid of the lawyers, we managed to arrange a meeting with the military prosecutor..."

"Within the Moscow 'Shchit' organization a group was formed to react quickly to events. This group facilitated reception of servicemen and their families and also travelled to areas of the Transcaucasus to provide independent expertise on crimes in Baku and Nagornyy Karabakh..."

"We prepared New Year's gifts for a number of women (soldiers' mothers - V. Zh.) and we already made a gift of a television set, in accordance with a decision of the coordinating committee..."

"The 'Shchit' union also made a gift of a color television set to 'the Afghan veterans'."

"...In the course of the year we picketed the Ministry of Defense, the Main Political Directorate, the Main Military Prosecutor's office, and the General Staff dozens of times."

"We actively cooperate with foreign colleagues who participate in defending the rights of servicemen. We have been in France, Italy, Spain, Czechoslovakia..."

"We are supported by B. N. Yeltsin, who regrets that he cannot participate in 'Shchit's' work. We are supported by G. Kh. Popov. I will tell you that the Moscow Council did not give a registration pass to Polozkov after the Russian Communist Party was formed, but for the 'Shchit' union I was able to procure registrations for V.P. Turchin, V.I. Bychkov, and S.M. Kudinov, and I was promised assistance in finding them housing. This speaks highly of the authority of our union. And here is how we are going to work: A person who works, a person who eagerly works, will receive a fixed salary of 500-600 rubles per month..."

...This, I guess, is basically all that Urazhtsev "scraped together," reporting on work accomplished during the entire year.

By the way, that very same work done by the lawyers was paid for. And their work consisted to a large degree in simply sending newcomers off to military lawyers who

were seeing them anyway without all this and, it goes without saying, seeing them for free.

The "independent expertise given by 'Shchit,'" as is already known, poured so much dirt over the army that the false arguments of this—if I may be permitted to say it—so-called expertise, were recognized for what they were even by those who are not friends of the Armed Forces.

As long as a year ago, Urazhtsev was running around "like a child with a new toy" with those same two television sets. Finally, he did some good to someone...

With regard to picketing and meetings, we have to give Urazhtsev and his supporters their due: they succeeded. Once again, the army paid for it. One of Urazhtsev's closest associates, Moskovchenko, even managed to sneak up and hit the commandant of Moscow during one of these farcical events.

And as far as Urazhtsev's and his supporters' trips abroad are concerned, I am not going to comment on that at all. At the congress, he, of course, swore that he was unselfish with regard to his personal motives, but these motives were subjected to a more than just severe criticism even in "Shchit's" cash expense budget...

This is not the first year that I have been observing the evolution of Urazhtsev's views, conclusions, and positions. At one time he served in the Main Political Directorate until, having been convicted of dishonesty, he was forced to leave the Main Political Directorate. Since that time they "do not like him." He studied at the Military-Political Academy, well and diligently, but now he hints that as long as eight years ago either he or his associates put together some sort of illegal organization, the prototype of "Shchit." By the way, another confirmation that this is also a bluff was a letter that came to the editorial office from a Colonel V. Tkachev who worked at the time at the academy, simply saying: falsification... He was an instructor in the Marxism-Leninism Department of the Ryazan communication school, but when he was denied a promotion to senior instructor he began to denounce both the school administration and Marxism-Leninism itself. In the Moscow Higher General Military School he made desperate attempts to become chief of the political section, and when he did not succeed, he began to scream that political sections were not at all needed. He doted upon the okrug administration, but when the administration agreed with the opinion of the school's officer collective to discharge this demagogue from army ranks, he immediately accused the administration of being among the "cohorts against perestroika." He hoped that the Minister of Defense would not sign the order to discharge him, and just in case, called the minister by no less a name than "much respected Dmitriy Timofeyevich!", but the order was signed and now Urazhtsev rakes the marshal "over the coals" on every street corner.

I know that everything written above can be interpreted as a defense of the "honor of the uniform" by various persons. I know that there were many officers at this second congress

of "Shchit" who were attempting to understand what it is all about. They were hoping that all of a sudden, in a straightforward manner, they would receive some sort of support, even if only by way of advice. They came to Moscow from different garrisons: Lt Colonels V. Revenko and S. Terekhov; Majors V. Arakelov, V. Galushchinskiy, N. Dimitrov, S. Kartashov, F. Clintsevich, and V. Sazonov; Captain-Lieutenants A. Lebedev and I. Nikolayev. But their "meditations at the congress" forced them all to admit simultaneously that they were disappointed in their expectations. They turned to our editorial office with a request to warn all servicemen, reservists, and members of their families to be careful, because "Shchit," headed by Urazhtsev, is not at all the healthy force that can protect us. To put it simply, Urazhtsev and his close supporters—together with similar radical politicized groups—are trying, in their struggle for power, to use problems of society and the Armed Forces, and even the deep sorrow of mothers who have lost their sons in the army.

As far back as a year ago, "Shchit" elected three cochairmen. But two of them, M. Timokhov and N. Krayushenko, did not even show up at the second congress of the union as a protest against Urazhtsev's adventurerist position.

S. Budko, the closest advisor to the people's deputy of the RSFSR during the pre-election campaign, disassociated himself even more drastically: He wrote in our newspaper, admitting that "Shchit" did not do anything at all for the goal that it had publicized.

T. Ryabova, member of the control commission, attempted to give a report to the congress, exposing Urazhtsev's financial activities, but the latter did not allow her to say her piece.

Urazhtsev always prided himself on the support of the people's deputies who were "Shchit" members. ("The union has 15 members who are people's deputies of the USSR!") Only one of these, Smirnov, decided to attend the second congress. And even he came to the podium to announce that he is against the illegality of membership in this organization, against the sabbath that Urazhtsev instituted "to spite" the Ministry of Defense, and against unconstitutional methods of doing their work. And for these reasons he is leaving the union... Many, many said that this was not for them. And although Urazhtsev sees this alienation in his own way ("We had individual cases—party members and factionists. Tkachev always said that he will form his own faction. Ozolin did not work... Filatkin misappropriated "Shchit's" correspondence file for himself... We excluded Tkachev from membership..."). Facts remain facts.

Only the most loyal assistants have remained, including the same Moskovchenko, the master of hitting someone unexpectedly and running away to hide in the bushes. He and a certain Osipenko have already received "personal fixed salaries." The priest, G. Yakunin, whose sermon, by the way, was heard by delegates to the second congress after his church service "for those servicemen who

died in the army." I do not want to interfere in religious matters at all, but I am forced to state one more fact: Not long before the congress, G. Yakunin together with V. Urazhtsev, as people's deputies of the RSFSR, voted against an Appeal to the President of the USSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet not to allow our country to become involved in the military conflict in the Persian Gulf. Why? In order to have more prayer services "for those killed"? Again, let me ask a question: How does this square with the declaration about social protection of servicemen?

Thus, Urazhtsev needs new "volunteers." It seems that one has appeared: a Colonel S. Kudinov, volunteered either intentionally or because of his ignorance of those who worked for "Shchit" or stood behind "Shehit" as deputies of this well-known organization that has the political orientation of a "valuable treasure" in the overall scheme of confirming "plans for organizing a military overthrow" this fall. This scheme, as is well-known, burst as if it were a soap bubble. Among those who were hurriedly included in the presidium of the congress was Major A. Luganskiy. As far as could be seen, the leader of "Shchit" took an immediate liking to this officer and announced that the major left the CPSU because he supported the idea of doing away with the party in the army. For this he was transferred out of the Western Group of Forces and assigned to the Odessa Military District. In search of justice, he allegedly went around to 25 generals, but to no avail. Now he is without an assignment, his wife is without a job, and he is depending on "Shchit's" protection...

A week ago Aleksandr Ivanovich was in our editorial office. And if he has the right to say that I did not do everything I could to figure out this complicated matter, then I will also understand why he stepped up to the "Shchit" podium. But after all, work is now being done both in our correspondents' office and in the group of forces regarding his complaint. And the commander of forces of the Odessa Military District, according to this same Major A. Luganskiy, has already expressed his understanding and concern. As far as party membership is concerned, when this officer came to our editorial office, he had his party card with him.

One does not want to lose faith in people. Therefore, I am flattering myself with the hope that Aleksandr Ivanovich will not be destined to remain in the activist ranks of "Shchit" too long either. And if he changes his convictions depending on the "color" of the podium, then Urazhtsev can definitely be congratulated...

The latter just has to bluff about his "successes." Also at this congress we heard it proclaimed: Among 176 delegates (out of 301 invitees) were eleven generals and colonels and 32 senior officers; 28% completed command academies, 18% - political academies, and 54% - engineering academies; and twelve persons are communists. And so on and so forth... True, there was a fully reasonable question from someone in the audience:

Where did these data come from? After all, in the information blurb about the delegates these data are simply not there.

Without opposition, Urazhtsev considered himself the elected chairman of "Shchit"; this time, for some reason, only as chairman of the Russian union, even though at the time of the voting there were no more than 40 delegates present in the hall. These were ardent supporters of the "ideologue." Others simply left the hall.

Many speeches of "Shchit" members who had finally sobered up were drowned out by a chorus of shouters from "Urazhtsev's team." This included the above-named S. Budko: In order to have successful social protection for servicemen it is essential to have close working contacts with the Ministry of Defense, it is necessary to begin working in legal ways, and it is necessary to struggle to save the USSR and its unified Armed Forces.

The shouters liked another speech better: "Shchit" must become an even more dangerous organization! Dangerous to whom?

Personally, I have no doubts: To the army. But if the demagogues of this organization were previously somehow able to clothe themselves in the toga of protectors of the interests of the man in the uniform, now the mask has fallen off completely.

And, as they say, there is no evil without good: We now know our enemies by sight.

Service Parents Protest at RSFSR Supreme Soviet 91UM0211A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Dec 90 First Edition p 7

[Article by Lt Col A. Oliynik: "Bitter Monologue: At the Extraordinary Congress of Parents of Servicemen"]

[Text] For two days passions boiled and loud accusations and bitter tales rang out at the congress, which began its work on 23 December in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet building. This is not surprising; in the meeting hall of the Russian parliament were more than 500 parents of servicemen, chiefly mothers whose soldier sons had, for various reasons, perished in peacetime. The stage of the presidium with its RSFSR flag, so familiar from news reports, was decorated this time with photographs of soldiers and sailors ringed in black ribbon.

No question of it: there was plenty of emotion at the congress. There were even extremist slogans and "unsuitable" opponents were removed from the hall.

In the end, however, after sharp debate an agenda was approved. The fundamental question was: What are the reasons for failure to fulfill the 15 November 1990 Ukase of the USSR President entitled "Steps to Realize the Suggestions of the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers."

Disdaining the relativity and generality typical of some parliamentary speeches, the soldiers' mothers called things by their real names: the main points of the Ukase are not being carried out, neither in the Center nor in the local areas. The Special Commission, set up under the Ukase to check on the completeness and objectivity of investigations of cases where servicemen and military construction workers have died or been injured in peacetime and headed by Yu. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, has not completed review of a single case, although its period of activity expires on 1 January 1991.

The participants at the congress adopted a number of documents, including an appeal to the 4th Congress of USSR Peoples Deputies. This appeal includes, among other things, demands to form an independent parliamentary commission with participation by mothers and fathers to investigate all cases of soldiers who die in peacetime and to carry out in full the USSR President's 15 November 1990 Ukase.

On the morning of 24 December the soldiers' mothers delivered these demands personally to USSR Peoples Deputies coming to the session of the Congress.

On that same day a demonstration was held by participants in the extraordinary congress of servicemen's parents; it was conducted by an initiative group of "Shchit," the Union for the Social Protection of Servicemen. The demonstration was a logical continuation of the emotional debates at the parents congress.

And once again you reflect: what a shame that such a sacred cause is overflowing with malice and, as at this demonstration, simple abusive street language.

Veteran Deputies Address Fourth Congress

91UM0247A Moscow VETERAN in Russian
No 1, Jan 91 p 2

[Speeches by A.I. Golyakov, first deputy chairman of the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, and V.S. Obraz, chairman of the Poltava Oblast Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies; date not given]

[Text]

Speech by A.I. Golyakov, First Deputy Chairman of the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces

Esteemed Presidium and Esteemed Comrade Deputies! I have been instructed to relate the position of the 74 USSR People's Deputies from the organizations of veterans, which represent 50 million persons of the older generation. This task is made easier by the fact that the deputies have an

appeal to the congress from the participants of the plenum of the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces.

The plenum instructed its people's deputies and called on veterans organizations to support the proposals of the USSR president and the decisions of the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the issues being considered. Moreover, there was a keen discussion about the fact that these measures will lead to what is desired, if they are implemented decisively, quickly, and consistently. This is confirmed by the experience of five years of perestroika. Its ideas, as you recall, were perceived in a positive way by veterans and by a majority of the Soviet people. There were attractive guidelines for the development of democracy and glasnost, the sovereignty of the soviets, the acceleration of the socio-economic development of the country, a multistructured economy, and different forms of property, with priority given to collective property.

Events unfolded in a contradictory way. I will not repeat their assessments, but I will touch only on one, and, in my opinion, the main one. Society lost its social stability. Different views on the fate of the country gradually grew into an opposition and confrontation of political forces, and they reached an extreme limit. At first, the opposing sides claimed that their views on perestroika were identical and that the differences concerned only the tactics for its development. Now it has become clear that the contradictions are fundamental in nature.

We will speak frankly, opponents became political enemies. The main part of the political forces stands for a renewal of society, retaining a socialist orientation, and this is reflected also in the decisions of the congresses of people's deputies and in the decisions of the party congresses; the other part departs from these decisions, it organically will not accept a socialist orientation, and it now already openly calls for the restoration of capitalism.

I cite this fact. USSR People's Deputy Murashev, the chairman of the organizational committee of the Democratic Russia movement, in an interview with the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, notes that the most important task of Democratic Russia is to promote a quicker adoption in a national referendum of a new Russian Constitution that would put an end to the Soviet and socialist period of Russian history and neutralize the ruinous activity of the communist imperial center.

Thus, the approach to perestroika is fundamentally different. And today it is important that the people know who is speaking for what kind of perestroika and to what kind of a society they are being called, in order to determine whom to follow. I think that mutually acceptable compromises have to be sought in this situation.

As for fundamental political positions, then here, apparently, compromise is impossible, but clarity is also needed. Questions on the political and economic system of the country and the fate of the Union are so important that their resolution must belong to the people, and not

to the parliament and to scientists. We support the proposal of the president to hold a referendum on the Union and private property. I think that a referendum is needed on the social system as well. But until they are held, the political struggle should not go beyond the framework of what is reasonable. And here some kind of a compromise is really necessary.

In this regard, I am very alert to the mood of individual representatives of the Interregional Group of Deputies. USSR People's Deputy Zaslavskiy writes that "compromise with the Communists (Listen, Comrades!) is as impossible as compromise with the devil. Because compromise, the deputy asserts, is always a deal, but the price of a deal with the devil is known to everyone; agreement with the Communists is impossible, and, indeed, repulsive to every honest person."

Two-thirds of those present in the hall are communists, and there are 17 million of them in the country. Thus, with what vicious eyes must they be viewed to take such positions!

A barrier has to be set up against the massive attacks on the party. The veterans criticize the CPSU Central Committee for the lack of principles in the ideological struggle, and for allowing the unimpeded propaganda of anticomunism. At the same time, we are firmly convinced that without the CPSU it is impossible to implement a program to get the country out of the crisis and to arrive at national harmony. The stream of letters that is reaching the All-Union Council of Veterans indicates: A majority of representatives of the older generation will not accept the restoration of capitalism. And at their plenum, the veterans firmly declared their close cooperation with the CPSU and with other parties and movements of a socialist orientation.

Most likely, the older generation will catch it from the opposition. Many publications indiscriminately accuse it of servile obedience to the Stalinist regime, and they depict the conservative force as a dead weight on society. And that is what they are saying about people whose talents and hands in a short time created the enormous economic and defense potential of the country, about those who held out in a mortal combat with fascism and defended the freedom and independence of the Motherland. It is appropriate to mention that the older generation was able in five postwar years to restore an economy that was ruined by war.

Unfortunately, many in the mass media do not want to note these heroic pages in the life of the older generation, subjecting the entire history of the Soviet state to indiscriminate abuse. This is painfully insulting to veterans, and it has already inflicted irreparable damage to successive generations. Among the many losses in recent years is the loss of respect and trust in older people among a substantial part of youth—one of the most severe losses.

And now about what particularly troubles the veterans. There is talk of a sharp worsening in living conditions, which has had an effect on their mood. The hopes of a

majority of the veterans were replaced by disappointment. Therefore, they demand the immediate implementation of a series of measures that guarantee pensioners social protection from possible losses in connection with the transition to market relationships.

What is meant first and foremost are guarantees for pension security. In connection with the adoption by the republics of laws on pensions, a need emerged to regulate practical measures for the implementation of these laws. The question of procedure and periods for income indexation remains open. The rapid increase in prices for food placed many pensioners on the brink of survival. Payment to them of compensation cannot be postponed to the second half of next year. This has to be done sooner.

But it is not just a matter of the extent of the pensions. Many of the pensioners, especially the older ones, can be helped with real services under the conditions of a market: in the form of free nourishment and the sale of daily necessities at lower prices with checks or coupons. It seems that on the whole this problem deserves additional and immediate examination at the level of higher organs of state authority.

Esteemed People's Deputies! The older generation constitutes a fourth and in some places a third part of our constituents. We, as well as the people's deputies of the republics and the local soviets, promised in our preelection programs to do everything necessary to improve the lives of veterans. Many are keeping their word and are helping the oldsters. Many, but not all by far.

I cite the facts: The construction of boarding houses for elderly persons in the last two years has fallen to the lowest level in the last three five-year plans, and there are few changes for improved living conditions in these houses. Here is an excerpt from a collective letter from veterans from the city of Lvov: "Veterans and invalids who live in boarding houses curse their fate and depart life with this feeling. For no one is thinking about how to improve their life at least a little."

Society owes a great debt to the workers of the home front during the war years, and to soldiers' widows who are waiting for real help from the deputies, from veterans' councils, and from charitable funds. Otherwise, the slogan "Concern for the older generation is society's high moral duty" will remain an empty slogan. It is necessary to inspire veterans with the confidence that the state will not permit a drop in their living standard. Of course, the veteran's organization on its part will do everything that is necessary to resolve this task.

Speech by V.S. Obraz, chairman of the Poltava Oblast Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces

In thinking about the Union treaty, I will speak on behalf of that generation of people that was born in the year that our Union was formed. It is a malicious irony of fate to be born together with the Union and to be present where someone

wants to arrange a requiem for our great Union. In this connection, I want to give assurances that we, veteran frontline soldiers, will not permit the disintegration of the Union as long as we are alive. We have children and grandchildren who also will decide the sacred task of preserving our Union. I will speak in behalf of those who moved unhesitatingly under gunfire in 1941, defending the Union, and for whom fate destined that only three out of every 100 would return.

One and the same question today haunts every veteran of war and of labor: What will happen to our Union? It is burning our souls and hearts more than frontline shell fragments. The mind refuses to find an explanation for what is happening. Everyone is fighting, right up to clergymen and writers, journalists, and those who claim the title of "engineers of human souls." It is this, in my opinion, that is the most frightening of all—for they are forming the social conscience.

The great Union, which until recently was called a superpower, stands before the entire world with outstretched hand. We, veterans, do not understand this. Because it is we, and not just anyone, in the Union, and not just anywhere, who in 1941 were able to move 1,000 large plants and 10 million persons from the west to the east. In a period of months, we were able to set up production of the most complicated kinds of military equipment. In a year, I emphasize, we converted the entire economy of the country to a military footing. But now we have been unable to resolve one question in five years: How to feed the people? We are unable to supply the population with flat irons. Think of it: We restored 1,710 cities and tens of thousands of destroyed villages! If memory does not fail me, we restored 6,500 kilometers of railroads.

The growth of industrial production and scientific potential in our country in the postwar years astonished America. And this was after the rollers of a civil war and two world wars moved over our land and our people during a period of about 30 years, essentially during the life of one generation. You do not have to have a fertile imagination and an analytical mind to understand and assess the role of the Communist Party of the Union as the organizing force of our society under those and current conditions.

I ask democrats, radicals, liberals, constitutional democrats, and others: Name me a party that could at any time or anywhere cope with a similar burden of historical tasks that fell to its lot. My knowledge of the Russian language is too poor to find the necessary combination of words to characterize those whom the party brought up from swaddling clothes to be doctors of science and secretaries of the Central Committee. They were suddenly overcome with pluralism, and they spit, pardon the expression, on the soul of the party. A morally developed person will never be able to comprehend this.

What brought us to such a pitiful state? Perestroika really was necessary, but, after starting it, we were unable

to form an idea that was clear and, above all, comprehensible to the broad masses. For we know that an idea is transformed into a material force only when it captures the conscience of the masses. There is some kind of confusion today between the concept of "capitalism," "democracy," and "complete permissiveness," and between glasnost and sensation both in politics and economics, and in culture.

The consequence of this is not only that individual important politicians, but even society as a whole live today in a state of perplexity and moral depression. Everyone fears something. Some intimidate us with socialism, and others, with capitalism, and today we are being threatened with dictatorship. It is a blessing that we frontline soldiers have hardened nerves, and we will not surrender to fear, knowing: To fear for a long time is a greater evil than what is feared.

An open struggle for power was started from the First Congress of People's Deputies. But I ask all of those who love power and who aspire to it to ponder what V.G. Belinskiy wrote: "Of all of the human passions, the most fierce after pride is the love of power. Not one passion has cost mankind so much suffering and blood as the love of power." Think about the people—for it is they who pay for everything.

On the wave of perestroika, everyone rushed into high politics, and everyone is striving to be a statesman—from the weight lifter to the chess player. This is not bad, but there is one small detail: Every statesman should be a politician, but not every politician, unfortunately, can be a statesman. Some of our statesmen are principally politicians, but they do not possess state wisdom. I will limit myself to only several examples. In this hall, in connection with certain events, there were jeers at the Armed Forces. And by the same token, they gave the green light to events in Baku, Orsha, and Uzgen. In this hall, a poet scoffed at a young general. And now soldiers are being killed. Such is the logic of things from the standpoint of state wisdom.

The famous German physicist Max Born asserted: The intellect distinguishes the possible from the impossible, and common sense distinguishes the advisable from the senseless. Well, now a lot of intellectuals have appeared among us who are short on common sense. And this is very dangerous for the state. An evaluation of the 1939 treaty can serve as a good illustration of this. A lot of intellect was invested in it, but little common sense from the standpoint of state interests. Today's example of E.A. Shevardnadze is also representative.

If the quality of administration of our state will remain as it is, I assure you that neither the Leninist socialism, common socialism, nor the market socialism that we construct will survive. With this kind of administration, even the capitalism that has been polished for centuries would collapse. Any state has to be administered in a skillful and firm way.

I propose: It is necessary, unquestionably, to conclude a Union treaty. And now, basing ourselves on the legal principle of international agreements (I have in mind Yalta, Potsdam, and Helsinki), and the firmness of the borders of our state, to preserve the Union within the framework of the constitution currently in effect, restricting ourselves at this stage to a redistribution of center and republic functions, operating decisively, persistently, and consistently.

Let the one who wants to exercise his right to secede from the Union do so. This should not be feared. I am convinced that the people will understand who is leading it to what and where. Under conditions when Europe is uniting, is establishing a common parliament, and one currency, and when such economic giants as united Germany, China, and India are growing, we are rushing to feudal fragmentation. What are we doing?

And lastly. A very ticklish question—regarding the step taken by E.A. Shevardnadze. We are so unprepared for the new parliamentary life! You see, such a step in Western parliaments does not evoke any special emotions, but in our country this caused confusion. What, has this been put into our genes?

But I am troubled by something else. I am troubled by the history of mutual relations between Yeltsin and Gorbachev. Whether we like it or not, this will not contribute to the strengthening of the Union. Their political convictions and psychological types of characters will always hinder constructive work, and the people will end up paying. The Congress must find an answer to this question.

S.V. Angapov, I.F. Klochkov, T.I. Gorinov, and N.I. Timashova, deputies from the All-Union Organization of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, also spoke at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Ignatenko on Using Troops To Enforce Draft

91UM0249A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 2, Jan 91 p 6

[Interview with V. Ignatenko, leader of the press service of the USSR president, under the rubric "Press Center"; date not given: "Airborne Troops to the Rescue"]

[Text] The supplementary measures by the USSR Ministry of Defense to conduct conscription for active military service and return deserters, which have been undertaken using subunits of airborne troops, was one of the themes of a briefing by V. Ignatenko, leader of the press service of the USSR president, which took place at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center. In particular, answers were given to the following questions.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Did the president of the USSR take part in the decision to move airborne troops into several republics or was the decision made by the minister of defense independently?

[Ignatenko] We are catastrophically unable to man our military at the proper level of combat effectiveness. The military cannot function when, for example, only 28 percent of the necessary people are drafted in Armenia, 10 percent in Georgia, 58 percent in Moldova, 25 percent in Latvia, 12 percent in Lithuania, and 24 percent in Estonia. Therefore, on the basis of the Presidential Edict of 1 December 1990 it was decided to assist the military commissariat in filling these manning shortfalls in the military units with the aid of the active military.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] We understand the legal side of the matter... But when it is a question of the military being "catastrophically" understaffed, it is worth asking some questions. For example, the population of Pskov and Novgorod Oblasts of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] is larger than the three Baltic republics taken together. As an alternative could you not increase conscription from these oblasts?

[Ignatenko] Here it is a question of a certain social fairness. Why, for example, should a boy from Novgorod or Nizhniy Tagil serve "extra time" when 9,000 draft dodgers or deserters in the Republic of Lithuania do not consider themselves obliged to fulfill the existing USSR Constitution?

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How is the Soviet Army planning to achieve observation of the conscription order?

[Ignatenko] I presume that it will take place in a peaceful, civilized fashion. But some sort of disciplinary measures will probably be required. Naturally it will not take place the way I read it somewhere—that it would practically amount to military operations. Such a scenario is ruled out.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What is your reaction to the statements of some Baltic leaders to the effect that such actions by airborne troops and the approaching deadline for the Iraq ultimatum—15 January—are not a mere coincidence?

[Ignatenko] It would be too fanciful to compare the Baltic region with the events in the Persian Gulf. They are quite different things. One situation is domestic and the other is a bitter international conflict.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] TASS has reported that about 5,000 people have dodged the draft in the Moscow Military District. Why are the paratroopers not returned to Moscow Oblast?

[Ignatenko] Deserters and draft dodgers are constantly being sought by our punitive institutions—the militia, the military authorities, etc. I do not think that these 5,000 people in the Moscow region will be very comfortable. Sooner or later they too will be brought to justice.

But a special situation is apparent in the Baltic region. The military commissariats there are unable to cope. In general they have a particular problem—they do not have the support of the community or the militia.

Therefore, these emergency measures have been undertaken to aid them. It would be excessive to do this in Moscow and the Moscow region, I believe.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] The end of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies coincided with an assembly of the military leadership in Riga, which published a statement. The statement said that if the congress does not begin to bring order, the military in the Baltic region will take the initiative themselves. And now the impression is being made that the president is responding to their appeal...

[Ignatenko] There are many inaccuracies in what you have said. There was no ultimatum. Nor did any such assembly take place—there were the usual military coordination meetings. There were no appeals, petitions, or requests of any kind—even oral ones. So it is illegitimate to draw any conclusions about a response.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] The opinion is making the rounds in the West that the use of troops to resolve conscription problems may serve as the first step for a new round of brutal pressure by the center on a number of recalcitrant republics. Could you comment on this point of view?

[Ignatenko] People in military uniform are always a symbol of force, a symbol of power, and, in your terminology, a symbol of pressure. Of course it would be better if conscription into the Soviet Army took place, as before, accompanied by dances, folk music, flowers, etc. But if that cannot happen, then stern men with certain orders will have to fill the gap.

Commander, Northern Group on Ogonek, Polish Attitudes

91UM0270A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
12 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General V. Dubynin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces, by A. Bugay; place and date not given: "The Former First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Poland Decided To Look at the Presence of Our Troops in That Country Through Others' Eyes, and He Succeeded..."]

[Text] A piece entitled "But Through the Eyes of the Poles" was published in the journal OGONEK (No 40, 1990), in which a specific view, to put it mildly, was offered on the presence of our troops in Poland. There is nothing so surprising in this: OGONEK's attitude toward the Army and its problems is well known. But one detail was surprising: In that piece the commanding general was described as a man "of the new formation," which, you will agree, is something one does not encounter very often in that journal. This flattering testimonial was unexpectedly conferred on the commander of the Northern Group of Forces, Colonel General V. Dubynin. We asked him to comment on the content of that item, which, it must be said, raised many questions among our readers. If OGONEK did not stint with its compliments about the

commander, then it is probably of some interest to discover his opinion on those same questions dealt with by the journal.

[Bugay] It is probable that you will not find any recent issue of OGONEK that does not contain a piece on the "army" theme. What do you think about that, Viktor Petrovich?

[Dubynin] I would only be pleased that OGONEK is paying attention to the problems in the Army and the Navy if it did not misrepresent the facts when talking about Army matters, if it did not make reference to the testimony of incompetent opinions, and if it shunned slanderous fabrications about the Armed Forces. Unfortunately, the piece by Aleksandr Oskin, a former first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Poland, "But Through the Eyes of the Poles," was not compiled in that way.

Having worked for several years in Poland, the author should have had a pretty good idea of the structure, as he calls it, of the "top military power in the group." In any event, he should have known that the garrison commandant in Legnica Voivodship was not Major General Ye. Kobyshev but Major General of Aviation Ye. Kobyshev, the deputy political chief of the Legnica Garrison.

[Bugay] But that mistake might have been because Oskin could not find out such a thing...

[Dubynin] As a private person, I do not dispute this. But not as a first secretary at our embassy. Moreover, other facts that he cited for OGONEK can only be attributed to personal incompetence.

Look at the way he paints the origins of crime in units of the Northern Group of Forces. An unsophisticated reader might be given the impression that dozens, hundreds of Soviet servicemen have organized themselves into gangs and are roaming about Poland in search of easy profit, raping Polish girls as they do so. This is what Oskin asks us to read: "In one year, according to figures from the "Freedom and Peace" movement, our soldiers committed more than 100 rapes or attempted rapes. According to the figures from the Soviet commandant's office, there were no more than five.

As the commander officially stated, the military procurator's office (not the commandant) has recorded one such case during the period indicated. So, every family has its black sheep. But no one was covering up for the rapist, and he was convicted by the Polish authorities. So the author's allusion to the fact that our command is allegedly inclined to protect criminals is a slander.

[Bugay] To admit, in particular (and I was doubtful about believing it myself), the poignant story of the bride who was raped by Soviet soldiers...

[Dubynin] Only a person who is unaware of the Polish reality could believe that such a thing is possible. For if such a thing were to happen in reality, the publicity it would receive would be instantaneous, and anti-Soviet groups would try to inflate what had occurred to the level of an interstate scandal. I saw signs on the walls that read

"Tanks Back to the Volga" but I did not see any slogans defending the honor of some person...

There is something else that I do not understand: Why did the author need to use doubtful sources, to say the least, in the article? It would have been much simpler to come to me or to the political directorate in the group of forces. I assure you that we would have provided the first secretary with the most exhaustive information on the state of affairs with respect to crime among troops in the Northern Group of Forces.

[Bugay] The piece makes mention of the hunger strike by Ye. Dzedzitskiy and M. Zadrozhnyy. The author modestly reports that the hunger strike was ended after he signed a "communiqué" with the hunger strikers.

[Dubynin] First, about the hunger strike itself. In the opinion of the Poles it took place, so to speak, only from sunrise to sunset. However, the command of the Northern Group of Forces did pay proper attention even to this action, and it repeatedly appealed to Dzedzitskiy and Zadrozhnyy to end the hunger strike.

But special mention should be made of the communiqué signed by A. Oskin on behalf of the Soviet side on 10 July in the premises of committees of the extremist organizations "Confederation for an Independent Poland" and "Freedom and Peace." In particular, it talks about the need to withdraw Soviet troops from Poland as quickly as possible, and prescribes for me, the commander of the group, the time periods for carrying out measures to reach agreement on problems pertaining to these questions, and so forth.

I can say that no one empowered the former embassy first secretary to make such statements, even less to sign official documents that talk about procedure and time tables for the withdrawal of our troops. He did not discuss with me as the empowered representative of the Soviet Government with respect to the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of the Polish Republic, any of the questions and problems dealt with in the communiqué that he signed, and I gave no permission for that.

So, as a result, this document, which was soon published in GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, created a crisis situation in Legnica, Wroclaw, and other neighboring voivodships that exacerbated relations between the Poles and both Soviet soldiers and the representatives of the local authorities.

The now former voivode in Legnica, Ryszard Jeleniek, delivered a verbal protest to me in which he pointed out that this document had not been agreed with the local authorities and that essentially the document had provoked an unhealthy attitude on the part of the public toward the voivodship leadership. As a result, some of the voivodes—the true supporters of Polish-Soviet friendship—were removed from their posts. They included R. Jeleniek. So now you can judge for yourselves whether, as the author writes, the provisions of the paper that he signed were of local significance both for the organs of the local authorities and for Soviet people in Poland.

[Bugay] Viktor Petrovich, nevertheless, if we try to look through Polish eyes at the presence of Soviet troops in their country...

[Dubynin] You know, I can just agree with Oskin that different viewpoints on the subject do exist in Poland. There are as many opinions as there are people and parties.

The processes taking place in the public life of that state are complex and contradictory. But there is a rising trend of anti-Soviet sentiments. The graves and monuments to Soviet soldiers are being desecrated, and although the overwhelming majority of Poles condemn these kinds of hooligan escapades, the condemnation is most often unspoken. Lies and legends are seen on the pages of the newspapers: Now that one of our military aircraft has lost a bomb, now that one of our officers has sold a pistol on a bus for a bottle of vodka... This is all just one link in a chain that testifies to the fact that certain forces in Poland do not want good-neighborly relations between our peoples. For some reason Aleksandr Oskin decided to look at the problem of the presence of Soviet troops in the Republic of Poland through the eyes of precisely those people. And let us be candid, he succeeded.

Casualty Rates Among Construction Troops

91UM0277A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with Yu. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation, by TRUD correspondent V. Badurkin; place and date not given: "When Verified, It Was Confirmed..."]

[Text] Yesterday, a special commission to verify the objectivity and completeness of the investigation into the causes of servicemen's deaths and military construction personnel in peacetime, set up by a decree of the USSR president dated 15 November 1990, completed its work. TRUD correspondent V. Badurkin talked to the head of the commission, Yu. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation.

[Badurkin] Yuriy Khamzatovich, more than 2,000 widows and parents of soldiers who died have visited the waiting room of your commission during these two months. We happened to hear from some of them that the commission's creation is a mere formality and a pretense of responding to the tears and demands of the mothers of soldiers...

[Kalmykov] I was also reproached in this manner several times. I believe that we may and should understand these women. They have decided that we should specifically address all petitions and make decisions satisfactory to them on all of the petitions. However, first, not all of the complaints are confirmed in the course of verification. Second, and this is the main point, we are not in a position to review them all. This is why we selected for verification 107 criminal cases initiated in conjunction with the deaths of servicemen.

However, verifying specific petitions was an important but far from the only task of our commission. The main task was to develop recommendations aimed at preventing deaths and injuries of servicemen, from this point of view to improve the operation of the organs of military administrations and law-enforcement organs, and to streamline legislation which ensures the rights of citizens in military service. I believe that the commission accomplished this task.

[Badurkin] The conclusions of any commission depend to a considerable degree on its composition or, more precisely, the degree of professionalism and objectivity of its members. By all signs, an absolute majority of the parents of soldiers have confidence in your commission.

[Kalmykov] This is natural. After all, fathers or mothers of soldiers who died, independent lawyers recommended by them, attorneys, representatives of the military procurator's office and the USSR Procuracy were members of every one of the 10 working groups set up by us. These groups were headed by people's deputies. Incidentally, we accommodated the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and included in the commission the Russian deputies proposed by it. Therefore, the competence and objectivity of the commission were beyond any doubt.

[Badurkin] Both the commission and our editorial office receive letters from the mothers of soldiers with complaints about the operation of the Main Military Procuracy. Are their petitions well-founded?

[Kalmykov] Not all of the 107 cases requested by us have been verified. However, I will say frankly that the analysis of the cases "already handled" is depressing. Some of our groups saw fit to refer up to four out of every five cases for additional investigation and reclassification of charges, (incidentally, military lawyers agreed to this). In all honesty, I did not expect to see this number of rejects in the work of the organs of the military procuracy.

People's deputies from the Committee for Legal Order and Crime Control were also involved, along with us, in verifying the operation of the military procuracy. Together with them, we arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the military procuracy works poorly. Even investigations of cases with a lethal outcome are frequently conducted in a superficial and negligent manner, especially at the first, inquest stage.

[Badurkin] I do not find this surprising at all. After all, the unit commander heads the inquest. He also appoints, by order, inquest officials, as a rule from among junior officers who have neither necessary legal knowledge or the practical expertise of investigative work. Besides, the system of evaluating the performance of commanders at all levels, which exists in our Armed Forces, does not at all promote the revelation and careful investigation of all violations of the law.

[Kalmykov] As we see it, it is necessary to reinforce the legal and organizational guarantees of the independence

of military procuracies and tribunals from the establishments they serve to make their operation more effective. At present, the number and structure of the military law enforcement organs depend on the consent of military establishments, the entire procedural independence of these organs notwithstanding.

The state of affairs calls for improving the procurators' supervision over compliance with the law by the military organs and numerous management echelons of the USSR Ministry of Defense, USSR KGB and USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops, railroad troops of the USSR Ministry of Transportation Construction, and others, including in the sphere of protecting the health and lives of servicemen and military construction personnel. However, the cadre situation of a small military procuracy forces the concentration of attention and resources mainly on current criminal cases, given the increasing crime rate.

With the authorized strength of operations officers being 3,144 (1,947 procuracy employees and 1,197 investigators), the military procuracy is understaffed by 242 people (20 percent of the investigative staff). An almost equal number (230) have been appointed to positions on the basis of drafting persons subject to two years military service obligation from the reserves. This cadre situation, on top of a lack of professionalism and an actual lack of objectivity by the inquest organs, to a considerable degree accounts for mistakes at the initial stage of the investigations of criminal cases verified by the commission. On many occasions these investigations were resumed by procurators on the basis of letters from the mothers of soldiers.

To my mind, it is necessary to resolve the issue of the fitness of some leaders of the Main Military Procuracy for the service positions held.

[Badurkin] Your commission was formed pursuant to a decree of the president of our country. However, as far as I know, objective statistics on the violations of law in our Armed Forces were not given even to its members...

[Kalmykov] The Ministry of Defense believes that it is impermissible to declassify absolute statistics on the strength of the Armed Forces and the data in question, the practices of other countries being one of its arguments. These arguments may be taken into account with regard to the Armed Forces, but with regard to the border guard, internal, railway, and military construction troops they are unsound. Meanwhile, the public release of genuine data would have promoted the improvement of public opinion of the Army, a balanced approach to the choice of measures for preventing tragic accidents, and an increase in the responsibility of structures and officials called upon to ensure the protection of the health and lives of servicemen and military construction personnel.

The available information makes it possible to characterize the picture of causes of death during military service which has emerged recently (in terms of the average number of deaths per year) as follows:
—As a result of ordinary disease—21.5 percent

- As a result of suicide—18.5 percent
- Due to violations of safety rules in training, work, and daily activities—17 percent
- In motor vehicle accidents (through the fault of both military drivers and other participants in traffic)—15 percent
- Consequences of murders and other premeditated crimes—5.5 percent
- Murder by reason of non-regulation relations—2.3 percent
- Due to violating rules for handling weapons and other non-premeditated crimes, except motor vehicle accidents—9.5 percent
- As a result of other accidents—13.2 percent

Each of these causes is unfavorably affected by various factors calling for coordinated counteraction. However, to this day there has been no in-house or interdepartmental organ for analyzing the problem comprehensively or at least for aggregate reporting on human losses. This would be helpful for prevention and for monitoring the timely and well-grounded payment of the established compensation.

[Badurkin] However, for now compensation is mentioned only in the president's decree. Recently, one of the specialists charged with resolving this issue informed the editorial office that "the issue calls for additional study..."

[Kalmykov] I believe the development of proposals associated with the payment of compensation and the granting of preferences to the families of servicemen and military construction personnel who died in military service in peacetime to be one of the most significant results of the work of our commission.

[Badurkin] Could you outline some specific proposals of the commission?

[Kalmykov] There are very many of them, from an entry in the certificate of death to the effect that "it occurred during service in the military." This is important in principle in the opinion of the parents (we agree with them), to various everyday preferences. In short, the essence is to equate in terms of preferences parents whose children died in the Army in peacetime with those who lost their children in Afghanistan.

[Badurkin] As practice shows, the distance between proposals and the adoption of corresponding resolutions is measured in more than just months...

[Kalmykov] I think that this time there will not be a "go-stop-go." First of all, I am aware of the attention the president pays to this issue. It is to him precisely that I will submit our proposals within days. Secondly, I personally head the parliamentary committee instructed to work on this. This is why I believe that these issues will be solved at the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the country.

[Badurkin] Therefore, the commission has completed its work. However, in essence, the verification of complaints by the mothers of soldiers has just begun. Who will handle this in the future?

[Kalmykov] The activities of our commission were temporary, whereas the issues touched upon in the presidential decree are of a long-term nature; they frequently call for special training and paid professional work. What we have started cannot be abandoned without a referral for execution. This is why it is expedient to set up a special subdivision affiliated with the Cabinet of Ministers and reporting to the apparatus of the USSR president.

Problem with Central Group of Forces Sale of POL to Hungary

91UM0126B Moscow *TRUD* in Russian 25 Nov 90 p 3

[Article by A. Komrakov, *TRUD* Correspondent, Budapest: "The Military Forces Are Leaving, but Problems Remain"]

[Text] The Withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary is proceeding in accordance with a strict schedule. Every day 7-8 military trains leave for home. The schedule was not upset even during the recent road blockade by striking taxicab drivers: Acceding to the requests of the Hungarian government, the demonstrators allowed the military columns to pass through without hindrance.

By the end of this year 70% of the units are supposed to have left Hungary, and total withdrawal will be completed before June 30th of next year. But the closer this date approaches, the more problems come up in our forces.

There are still many disputed problems in assessing the value of property that has been left behind. The Hungarian side no longer makes harsh demands for us to leave everything without being compensated. However, alleging that losses were caused to the environment by our troops, they are clearly trying to lower the value of the property that is being transferred over to them.

Here is one example. Our command headquarters is prepared to sell, *in situ*, around 100,000 tons of POL products. Transporting this POL home would be more expensive, as 260 more trains would be needed. Considering the continuing gasoline shortage in Hungary one would think that the local authorities would jump at this proposal. And they are ready to buy fuel, but—as they say—"for export," without storage tanks. We are not talking about some kind of barrels, but about huge underground reservoirs.

This same gasoline crisis showed how advantageous it is to have a capital reserve of fuel: The asking premium rate on gasoline can be knocked down and, in general, one can be less dependent on the changing oil prices on the world market. The Hungarians, however, stubbornly refuse to compensate us for the value of the reservoirs and, I think there is a simple reason for this: We cannot physically dig out our property and take it home.

There is also another problem that is seriously worrying not only the military. We are speaking about the graves of our soldiers who died in Hungary. In the past, acts of vandalizing graves were isolated ones, but recently they have become very widespread. Colonel General M. Burakov, Supreme Commander of the Southern Group of Forces (YuGV), even thought it necessary to turn to A. Goncz, President of Hungary, with a request for taking the necessary measures to stop further desecration of the remains of Soviet soldiers. His message included, for example, the following facts: Out of 100 tombstones at the Soviet military cemetery in Veszprem, 77 were either broken or overturned. A monument that had the names

of 366 persons engraved was destroyed on a fraternal gravesite in the city of Zirc.

I can imagine how relatives of those who died would feel reading this. Although they could not do it very often, they nevertheless had the opportunity of visiting these sorrowful places and paying their respects to those who were close to them.

According to Colonel D. Karpati, a representative of the Hungarian Ministry of Defense, vandalism also occurs here at graves of fallen American, Rumanian, and other soldiers. Of course, hearing this does not make it any easier for us... But I cannot refrain from speaking about something else, too: How long did Hungarian veterans ask to visit the bend of the Don River where several thousand of their countrymen laid down their lives in battle? Yes, they came to our land as conquerors. But to take it out on the dead?

And last: The withdrawal of our troops is continuing. A few more months and those who took care of Soviet graves will be gone. Isn't it about time right now to think about who will take on this work? True, it is difficult, I grant you, for our government to allocate sufficient funds (in hard currency at that) for this purpose in such a complex time. But after all, something has to be done...

Czech Defense Minister Rashek on Changes in Military Service

91UM0126A Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian
27 Nov 90 Union Edition p 5

[Interview of A. Rashek, deputy minister of National Defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist Federated Republic by L. Kornilov, *IZVESTIYA* correspondent, Prague: "An Army Without Political Organs and Under the Control of the Public."]

[Text] Antonin Rashek, a person in civilian clothes, is a deputy minister of National Defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist Federated Republic. Earlier it could have been said that political organs are subordinate to him. Today, the area for which he is responsible is called: Training and culture. In 1961 Rashek was graduated from the Philosophy Department of the Charles University, was involved in juvenile sociology, entered the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) and became a military journalist, rising to the rank of major. But after the "Prague spring" was crushed, he was forced to leave the party and the army.

...Participating in our discussion are advisors to the deputy minister, also "persons in civilian clothes." They are not only old friends and comrades-in-arms, but they have a common destiny and common interests. During the so-called "normalization" period they studied administration or social problems. Sometimes they did not have permanent jobs and sometimes they registered in various institutes. They attended the semi-legal seminars conducted by V. Klaus, a bank employee (present minister of finance) and scientific debates at the Institute of Forecasting. Thus new

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ideas gathered strength and new cadres matured there, in the very core of the old regime.

"Just look at the present composition of the government," smiled A. Rashek. "Half of the ministers attended these seminars."

...At this point the "biographical part" of our conversation ended and we passed to our main subject: The Czechoslovak army as an organ that is non-party and above the party.

Czechoslovak Communist Party army organizations and the political apparatus were abolished, after which began the establishment of new organizations. A Directorate for Training and Culture was founded in the Ministry of National Defense, subordinate to Deputy Minister A. Rashek. This situation ("how is it that the successor to the Main Political Directorate [GlavPUR] is completely subordinate to a deputy minister?") was difficult for Soviet colleagues to understand during A. Rashek's working visit to our country.

[IZVESTIYA] "Sometimes the matter is not even one of not understanding, but probably due to distorted information or mixing up wishful thinking with reality," I continued. "Millions of Soviet television viewers saw and heard how in the lobby of an important public building one of our generals asserted that the party should not give up its role in the Armed Forces, that the Eastern European countries did this and 'as is well known, nothing good came of it.' Would this assessment be valid for the Czechoslovak army?"

[Rashek] "No. Czechoslovak servicemen cannot join political parties now. I emphasize: No political parties at all. The Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) was of course primarily affected, because nearly all officers were members. It seems to me that those who support the preservation of communist party organizations in the army forget one important point: Under a multi-party system there would inevitably be a rivalry in the army among the different party groups, which would be a powerful destabilizing factor. And during pre-election battles? The army cannot be a storm center in the political arena."

"For this reason the servicemen themselves welcomed the army's shift to a position above the party. For instance, in one battalion I visited before this decision was made, 70 percent of the officers and warrant officers had already cancelled their memberships in the CPCZ. This was all a result of the democratic aspirations of the people that also occurred simultaneously in the military forces. This was a very positive step that was taken well and quietly in the army, with no problems."

[IZVESTIYA] "There are also arguments heard against depoliticizing the army. For example, that a person's rights are being violated or that servicemen are being deprived of the opportunity to participate in political life. How are such arguments viewed in Czechoslovakia?"

[Rashek] "First of all, we do not say 'depoliticization.' This is not an exact term. The army is a political organism that expresses and implements the policy of the state and the policies of the president, the parliament, and the government. We are speaking about non-party membership and not about being apolitical. I was also asked the question about civil rights in the FRG [German Federal Republic] when we were familiarizing ourselves with the Bundeswehr. I can repeat a catchy expression I heard in Poland: 'If you have two identity cards, you have to give up one of them.' A conscious choice has to be made between a military identity card and a party membership card."

[IZVESTIYA] "Does this mean that one can refuse military service rather than giving up his membership in, say, the CPCZ?"

[Rashek] "For a professional military officer, of course. This year 9,380 professionals left the service, i.e., 15% of officer and warrant officer personnel. Of these, 51% of their own volition, while 23% did not sign the new oath. There were also the kind you were speaking of. Nearly three-quarters of those who left were under the age of 30, and we regret that some of them left."

"With regard to term enlistments, the law now permits a person to take civilian duty instead, because of religious or moral beliefs. Local authorities grant this right for a period that exceeds army duty by one and a half times. This type of service is not supposed to bring profits or enrich someone; it is work in hospitals, children's institutions, cleaning up various areas, and so on. By September 1st, 13,855 soldiers had applied for an alternative to military service. Of this number, 11,000 have already left their subunits. I have to admit that only 700 persons were found to be registered, in accordance with the law, in local jurisdictions. This means that a tightening up is necessary, so that the system is not abused and persons are not 'drawn off' from military service."

[IZVESTIYA] "I heard that you have an assistant for religious affairs."

[Rashek] "He is an advisor. Dr. Novotny. According to our count about 10% of army personnel are religious. Right now we do not have any problems. An agreement has been signed with churches (and there are 21 different churches in Czechoslovakia), in accordance with which servicemen, during their free time, may attend church services conducted by guest priests."

[IZVESTIYA] "And are there field clergymen?"

[Rashek] "No, there are no clergymen to serve in the field. The churches themselves cannot do it now; they lack personnel."

[IZVESTIYA] "Are there civic organizations in the army now?"

[Rashek] "Yes, they include the Union of Career Military Personnel, Union of Young Men, the federal labor union of civil workers in the army, and the military 'Renaissance'

(11,000 persons, dismissed from the army during the 'normalization' period). They all function very independently and are partners of the commanders."

[IZVESTIYA] "Still, how exactly is training organized in the regiment, battalion, and company?"

[Rashek] In the regiment a group for training and culture consists of five persons, which is substantially less than earlier in the political organ. The chief of the group is no longer a regimental deputy commander, as before, but is subordinate to the regimental deputy commander. There is one worker in the battalion, and in smaller subunits there are no civilian "educational units." In companies and platoons the commander gets assistance from so-called "trustees." This kind of institution, by the way, has existed for a long time in other armies, for example, the Bundeswehr. These trustees are nominated by their comrades-in-arms and by civic organizations. Their status is made official by the commander's order."

[IZVESTIYA] "Are recent political workers subject to being ruthlessly fired?"

[Rashek] "What for? There is, for example, the possibility of retraining. It is a lot simpler, as well as less expensive, to give additional training to a young political officer and requalify him as a commander than train command cadres from the ground up. There is also the possibility of working for many public services and in civic organizations, about which I already spoke. They can also go into the reserve forces. In principle we want the civilian element to win over as much representation as possible in the army."

[IZVESTIYA] "This would apparently strengthen its ties with the civilian population, would it not?"

[Rashek] "It goes without saying. Today we are only at the beginning of the democratization and humanization process in the Czechoslovak army. The army has been called upon to be the stabilizing factor in society and the guarantor of democratic development. We want the army to be under the real control of all of the people, not just under the control of the parliament. This is an important principle."

Col-Gen Demidov on Career, Current Political Situation

91UM0130A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
28 Nov 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview of Col-Gen A. Demidov by Capt. A. Yegorov:
"Let Soldiers Be Soldiers"]

[Text] The Frunze embankment of Moscow. The famous third building of the USSR Defense Ministry. Here on the fifth floor Col-Gen A. Demidov has worked for the last two years, in the spacious office of the Deputy Commander in Chief of the Ground Forces, with windows overlooking the Moscow River. He is 54 years old. He comes from the village of Yereminskaya in the Vologda oblast. He grew up without his father. For several years he was raised in a children's home.

Some of those who are acquainted with Aleksey Arsenyevich, from serving under him, from the stories of others, or from rumors, cautioned me: "If he drives you out, if he does not want to talk, do not give up, but look for other approaches. He is a hard person, harsh... They even say that someone was shot in his office..."

I did not risk starting the conversation with this "they say," although outwardly the deputy commander in chief did not give the impression of a harsh commanding general who would slap leather during our talk. What is more, he was hospitable and got up from his desk to meet me, which personally for me, who has often had to stand at attention before seated superiors, meant a lot more than the ten or so stories told behind his back.

But why then did I find myself in this office? One might say it was on orders from the readers. Our mail has continued to rebuke us that we do not talk enough about our military leaders, about how they live, think, and feel... Hence this meeting with Col-Gen A. Demidov

[Demidov] I cannot believe anyone would be interested in our thoughts. In our country general is gradually becoming a common noun. Its trivial really, but you know, hardly a day goes by when I do not hear an nasty remark tossed after me.

[Yegorov] And here I thought it was our cross to bear, I mean captains and majors, to be cleansed by the remarks of their fellow countrymen. So generals need protection now too?

[Demidov] Who does not need protection nowadays? Everyone does. The country has been reduced to despair. But instead of concrete acts, we get demagoguery. And while before this was only the demagoguery of the so-called opposition, now it is demagoguery of those in power. From whom, besides loud arguments, the people expect the promised changes. Instead we get the tobacco uproar, potatoes rotting in the fields, and food ration books, with the deputies continuing to argue about their universal introduction.

Now you can say that the general is not sticking to his own affairs. I do not agree, if only because all these experiments ultimately will be a heavy burden on the backs of the military. You can judge this for yourself: when there was no bread in Moscow, it was baked by soldiers in field bakeries. When everyone realized that the danger of winter famine was real, soldiers and officers—by the thousands!—went into the fields to harvest potatoes. Yes, removal of personnel from the combat training is an all-Army calamity. But is this not another proof of my rightness: enough of this chatter! Let soldiers be soldiers...

It is paradoxical, but the fact is that we military have already begun to forget what live fire training is. In the divisions and regiments their numbers have at least been cut in half. Only because military doctrine had changed? No, of course not. It is simply because there is no one to serve in the units. And this is yet another problem. The plan for the spring draft in Armenia, Georgia, Lithuania, and Latvia was practically disrupted. Things are no better with the autumn draft. The soldiers who have served their required terms are being discharged to the reserve, and there are no replacements. Of a hundred draftees this year only forty-nine arrived at their place of service! Who is to blame for this, except the representatives of authority, who cannot (or will not) obey even presidential orders?

[Yegorov] It is often said of the draftees who are avoiding service that they do not want to go into the Army because they are taught nothing there but the "art of ditch-digging." But they would like to learn to drive combat vehicles, to accurately shoot their automatic rifles, to fight unarmed combat...

[Demidov] A bluff, intended for newspaper reporters remote from the Army! The overwhelming majority of those called to service undergo a half year of training in training subunits, where they are taught both to drive and to shoot...

[Yegorov] Well, one could also argue about the quality of training in those subunits. In any case, when I read your article in VOYENNYY VESTNIK, that is what I wanted to do. You wrote specifically that the present system of training junior specialists has proven itself, since cases of retraining of graduates of training units and DOSAAF schools are quite rare. I believe you will find many in the line units who disagree. Indeed, while serving in Afghanistan, I myself once saw a whole company of mechanic-drivers arrive in the division who did not have the elementary ability of starting a tank engine.

[Demidov] I will not argue with you, that happens too. But the present system of training today truly is most effective, and there is no alternative to it. Returning of sergeants to regimental schools, and such suggestions are reaching the main commissariat, are at the least unserious. For training a mechanic-driver or gunner for a T-34 tank is one thing, but for a T-80 it is something else again. In the one there are two levers and the "turret"

sight triangle, but in the other there is a ballistic calculator, a computer. You can teach how to work with such equipment only in special classrooms, using simulators, i.e. when there is a complex training system available.

[Yegorov] What is going to happen, Aleksandr Arsenyevich: the "boot camps" turn out "raw material," the Law of Universal Conscription works poorly, units are not manned with personnel, and we only dream about stable combat training... Where is the way out? Isn't it in the transition of the Army to a contract basis?

[Demidov] Personally I, if you wish, am for a professional army. I say this because in society for some reason the opinion has formed that the main opponents of a professional army are generals. But this is not the case. And first of all, perhaps, because you will not send a professional to harvest potatoes. You will not send him to repair a road, to clean out ditches, to collect trash at a construction site. The professional will work at combat and physical training, and nothing else! It is not the generals who have to dot the "i's," however, but the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They must decide whether we can now change the system of manning the Army or not. Given our poverty, will we provide the soldier and officer with everything necessary so that they would want and would be able to normally serve in the Army. The answer will hardly be in the affirmative. But then it is not only a matter of economics. There is yet another "but" which tips the scales in favor of a mixed, mandatory and contract, principle of manning: the need to have a militarily-trained reserve. If we have to fight, God forbid, the professionals would not be enough for long.

[Yegorov] In the U.S., where the armed forces are entirely professional, the question of reserve training seems to have been favorably resolved. It exists, and judging from the numerous statements of reservists wishing to go to the zone of the Persian gulf, it is fully combat-trained.

[Demidov] Statements are not an index of the level of combat readiness. I am deeply convinced that the American reservists are weakly trained, worse than our reservists. A person who does not serve in the Army cannot just simply change into a military uniform like that and win a war. As for our army... I am eagerly awaiting its broad reorganization. By virtue of that we will be able first of all to disband formations and units which have reduced manning, and create fully manned divisions. In such a division there will be no problem with combat training.

[Yegorov] But if the service draft is disrupted as it is now, a new organizational and personnel structure in the units will hardly allow us to eliminate all problems.

[Demidov] In order to repair matters with the draft we need one thing, firm authority. I am in favor of such authority.

[Yegorov] Can these words be interpreted as a principle by which you are guided in your practical work, in implementing many, so to speak, official powers?

[Demidov] I believe that firmness in work with subordinates is needed now as never before. Because young people are entering the command level. Inexperienced, fresh from the academy, whose chief merit is often an apartment and a Moscow registration. Can a former battalion commander teach a general or formation commander anything? Of course not. But we are forced to take him because the reduction in the Army is sending experienced officers, who can still do much, to the reserves. We are forced to take him because, Moscow, afflicted with an apartment shortage, does not allow us to use experienced cadres from the line units... There is one way out of this situation—to train the young command officer to work in the modern way. For this we need firmness.

[Yegorov] It is said of you, Aleksey Arsenyevich, that you are a person who is so harsh with his men that you are capable of carrying anything to an extreme. They say that allegedly someone was shot in your office...

[Demidov] That is not true. There was a case when I proposed doing something of that sort to an officer. But it was not here, it was in Baku. There was martial law in the city, and he came in with an ultimatum from an "initiative group" demanding that we raise service pay at "hot spots" and grant some benefits to wives... He found the time! I had half a thousand women and children cowering in basements from bullets, no water, there were threats of blowing up the electrical generating plant, and here he was with an ultimatum. So I said to him: "Why should I threaten you. Shoot yourself if you want." If that is harsh, then I am a harsh person.

[Yegorov] I was thinking about your family, Aleksey Arsenyevich. The uncompromising attitude by which you live has probably not made life any easier for your wife and children.

[Demidov] Probably not. In addition, our living conditions almost everywhere were, to put it mildly, uncomfortable. Endless moves in four districts and two groups of forces. I also vividly remember a tent in the Far East, and apartments with frost-covered corners. All this with my wife and children, who always traveled with me everywhere. It is true, service did not allow me to pay much attention to my sons, their mother had more to do with them. And although I tried to spend rare days off with the boys, on ski trips, in the woods, the elder, as he grew up, shared his problems with me less and less... Yes I always was strict in relations with my sons as well...

[Yegorov] I apologize ahead of time, Aleksey Arsenyevich, for reminding you of those hard days, when you, while in the hospital for a heart attack, suffered the death of your elder son... But have you not considered that your grief is nothing but life's cruel recompense for your, the military man's, chronic inattention to your own family?

[Demidov] That may be. For me it is true that my work was always in first place. Without days off, often with shortened leaves. I would come home literally wrung out, but even at home there were endless calls and summonses back to work. So the most frequent answer to

requests from my children were "later," "let me alone," "don't bother me." Of course this did not bring us any closer, it left the children alone with their problems, which they were unable to resolve. My son had a nervous breakdown in a critical situation, and the fateful decision was made.

[Yegorov] Tell me, did your younger son also become a military man?

[Demidov] Yes. He is a senior lieutenant, and commands a company in one of the northern garrisons. I am happy with him.

[Yegorov] I was told that you represent the type of influential father who demonstratively does nothing to assist his children. Have you really never wanted to free your son, say, of day-to-day difficulties that you yourself once encountered?

[Demidov] Of course I have wanted to. He is my son, after all. I could have done a lot for him. Help with an apartment, for example, since he recently married, get him out of the community quarters. But I have never done that, because it would be dishonest. And indeed, he himself would never consent to such patronage. I am certain of that.

Countersuits Brought in Moskovchenko—Lt-Gen Smirnov Incident

91UM0130B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 29 Nov 90 p 1

[Article by A. Kosulnikov: "I Wonder What Grinev Would Say If He Were Challenged To a Duel By Shvabrin Through the Main Military Procuracy?"]

[Text] A duel (see "poyedinok") is an arranged fight between two persons with deadly weapons in accordance with rules established for the given case or by rules sanctified by tradition, with the purpose of restoring offended honor (Brockhaus and Yefron Dictionary).

We know that every duel has its prior history, its plot. In the matter of which we are speaking, the shots have not been fired to this point, but there is a tale. And a plot as well, a multi-leveled one, a polyphonic one, so to speak. And quite ambiguous.

Here it is. During a September demonstration of soldiers' mothers near the General Staff building in Moscow, there was an unpleasant incident. A portrait of one of the dead soldiers was damaged. According to some testimony, the military commandant of the city, Lt-Gen Nikolay Smirnov, jerked it from the hands of the soldier's mother and tore it up. Other sources object that, no, the mother tried to hit the lieutenant general over the head with the portrait, and he, defending himself, grabbed her arm and bent the frame of the photograph somewhat.

We will not conceal "authorship." The first version was offered to our attention by the co-chairman of the Moscow

league "Shchit," reserve Major Nikolay Moskovchenko. The second by Lt-Gen Smirnov himself.

The plot development was so swift that the culmination arrived literally within a few hours (according to the version of the military commandant of the capital) or minutes (according to the version of the reserve major.)

Let us allow the parties to speak.

N. Moskovchenko: "I went up to Smirnov and slapped him. Not very hard, although of course his hat went flying. This was purely a ceremonial gesture."

N. Smirnov: "When passions had cooled, someone called me formally from behind, saying Lt. General! I turned around and got a fist in the face. Hard and unexpected, from behind, so that I did not even have time to react. The culprit hid in the crowd with sprinter's speed."

From here the plot thickens.

Nikolay Smirnov sent a statement to the Main Military Procuracy of the USSR demanding that Nikolay Moskovchenko be criminally prosecuted for hooliganism.

Nikolay Moskovchenko also sent a statement to the Main Military Procuracy. And he also demanded that they halt the rampaging lieutenant general by criminal prosecution. Or else permit him fight a duel with the military commandant, "in order to remove the blemish on the reputation of the armed defenders of the Fatherland."

Denouement: the procuracy of the Kiev Rayon of the capital is instigating a criminal prosecution against N. Moskovchenko.

The adversaries have not personally met since, but are constantly exchanging compliments through the press. For example, Moskovchenko reported to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA that it is still difficult to predict the further course of events, but if necessary he is ready to suffer for a good cause, i.e. to go to jail for the required term. Although many worthy activists of "Shchit" have already offered him their services as seconds. Smirnov asked that it be passed on that he is rather a good shot with a pistol, and can demonstrate his skill to the culprit at a shooting range.

The epilogue of this story, we hope, will be written by the rayon procuracy in its bill of indictment. I would like to think that the investigation will be objective and unbiased, as an investigation should be.

But now put yourself in the position of the general, who has to choose either to lie in wait for Moskovchenko in a dark alley and sort things out "man-to-man," or consent to a duel and immediately become famous when he is tried for elementary puerility. Or to write appeals to the authorities and be known as a petty intriguer. Or simply clean himself up and forget about it.

One other thing. However dubious the situation itself might be—as far as we know both sides have a mass of witnesses

with diametrically opposite testimony—it has suddenly become a cause for recalling the already basically forgotten concept of the "honor of an officer." Which emphatically does not hinder either majors or generals.

Moscow Combined Serviceman's Committee on Housing

91UM0147B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 6 Dec 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Lt Col Yu. Mamchur, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "On Behalf of Apartment Seekers: Combined Serviceman's Committee on Housing Fulfills Function"]

[Text] In a television broadcast, S. Stankevich, first deputy chairman of the Mossovet [Moscow City Soviet], said—in my understanding—that the Mossovet intends to prevent violating the principle of social justice in distribution of housing to servicemen by working in collaboration with the Committee of Apartment-Seeking Officers. This is the first time that I have heard of this committee in my four years of apartment renting in the capital. My fellow servicemen also have not heard of it. Who organized it? How does it represent our interests?

Colonel V. Petrenko

Indeed, in the 73rd year of the Soviet system, the 6th year of perestroika, and for the first time in the history of the Army, there is a Committee of Shelterless Officers.

"You will agree that something does not sound right in the title; it may even be considered degrading to the officer corps. That is why our official title is the Moscow Combined Serviceman's Committee on Housing," said co-chairman Captain 1st Rank Yu. Soldatenkov. Since the committee represents the general interests of 10,500 apartment-seeking servicemen of the capital garrison, including that of the writer of the letter, an explanation is in order."

Briefly put, this is what transpired, according to Yuriy Nikitovich. At a meeting of apartment-seeking officers from headquarters and central directorates of the Navy, in which military authorities and Mossovet representatives participated, it became clear that there would be no reasonable response to the question of prospects for provision of housing. It was then that the seamen decided to apply the principle of self-help in saving oneself aboard a sinking ship and organized their own committee of apartment seekers. Word of this spread to other units and installations. Some followed suit, others did not, but soon thereafter an initiative group was organized in the city military commissariat. The decision was made to act in concert. The concept was supported by Mossovet military deputies. Since there could be no thought of bringing together all the apartment seekers, it was decided to elect authorized representatives from the various locations. There was no need to present mandates or protocols at the organizational meeting held in September; it was entirely possible that there were no delegates from a number of military

collectives. Nevertheless, representation was fairly complete: staffs and directorates of the Ground Forces, Air Forces, Navy, Air Defense Forces, Moscow Military District, Civil Defense, several VUZ's, and others.

In a word, the congress selected a coordinating committee and endowed it with authority to act in behalf of apartment-seeking servicemen on duty in the capital.

Why has this kind of committee come onto the scene only now? Was there no need for it previously?

There is a limit to the amount of patience a person can have. It is no secret that the social status of a serviceman in need of an apartment lies somewhere between that of yesterday's prisoner and a person who is permitted only limited freedom. Much has been written about this kind of "charm." Homeless officers and warrant officers, in contradistinction to the majority of the Soviet public, which is in the preparatory stage of adopting the new market economy, have long been living under conditions of a "free housing market" with attendant prices. The forthcoming official change to the market system carries the danger that many military families will find themselves on the street, unable to compete with joint enterprises and cooperatives, which already today are offering Muscovites apartments for 600 to 1,000 rubles a month, often in foreign currency.

"We are not a party," emphasized Captain 1st Rank Soldatenkov. "We are not looking out for anyone's political interests. With the situation being what it is, we are pursuing a single purpose: To do what we can to arrive at a quick solution to the housing problem."

Working groups are active in the Combined Committee. They are interested in promoting private construction beyond Moscow city lines; seeking housing for evictees; arranging for rental housing for temporary use by servicemen; drafting guidelines for new rules of tabulating and distributing housing.

Committee members are especially interested in observance of social justice. They take a strong position against housing allocation in violation of the waiting list system. They believe that there is merit in devising a uniform formula for assigning housing to apartment-seeking servicemen of the garrison, that being length of tour in the capital. Since this involves a great deal of work—certainly not something that would take a month to accomplish—the idea is to ask interested persons to set up a central housing committee. The Combined Committee has approached the Main Billeting Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense with these and other suggestions.

By stating that Moscow intends to resolve the apartment matter involving the military department primarily by means of a social organization, thus intentionally or unintentionally publicly exhibiting distrust of the respective organ of the Ministry of Defense, it is possible that someone thought that by so doing he could set Army officials against the public-spirited officers.

If such an intent did exist, it did not achieve its main purpose. The Combined Committee found mutual understanding in the GlavKEU [Main Billeting Directorate] on most issues. The dialogue was difficult—at times even tense—but it produced a proper and officer-like situation of restraint and respect on the part of both parties.

“We stand ready to cooperate with all committees and commissions, as long as some good may come of it,” emphasized Major General D. Yarmak, GlavKEU deputy chief. “And we will not permit discord to take hold in our ranks and wind up as sheer nonsense. We have nothing to hide from apartment seekers.”

Long deliberations resulted in general agreement on a unified waiting list. It can be compiled, but the distribution of housing on the basis of such an enormous list would be virtually unrealistic. There would be a much greater advantage to maintaining unified lists in staffs, main headquarters, and directorates, the way it is done in main staffs of the Navy and Ground Forces. In a word, there would be something to distribute!

However, it must be admitted that housing is in short supply. The Mossoviet this year allotted to the military department 16 apartments in state residential buildings under construction and 560 in housing and housing construction cooperatives. In the area of private construction, 700 remain after the unavoidable subtractions. In general, of 10,500 waiting list entries, no more than 1,200 to 1,300 families will be able to move into new quarters. (A breakdown: 136 families have been waiting since 1985; 625, since 1986; about 400 possess housing entitlement.) In this connection, the Mossoviet is indebted to the Ministry of Defense in the amount of 142,000 square meters of living space, which is equivalent to approximately 4,000 apartments.

However, the Mossoviet Subcommittee on Housing Policy, Residential and Nonresidential Buildings (of which Mossoviet People's Deputy L. Ivanov is chairman) calls these figures into question.

Officially, the Mossoviet is not declining the responsibility. However, a constructive dialogue with the GlavKEU—one that would make it possible to “dot all the i's” and arrive at a mutually satisfactory solution, in spite of the latter's numerous appeals to Mossoviet leadership—will never take place. The Mossoviet has no reason to hurry, since the decree will no longer be in force at the stroke of twelve midnight on New Year's Eve.

Under such conditions, the Combined Committee, which maintains closer ties to city authorities, came out as an intermediary between the two parties. Negotiations, the same as—alas! the year 1990—are nearing an end, and we hope that a high-level meeting will be held somehow or other. What it turns out to be—a roof over the heads or the same sheer nonsense—depends largely upon the position the committee adopts, that is, with respect to the idea advanced by those who themselves are in need of housing. Nevertheless, there is wide variation of opinion on this vitally important issue.

A letter sent to the President of the USSR on behalf of the Combined Committee lists among other requests the following: “Request that the Mossoviet leadership be required to make good on its debt to the Ministry of Defense for the 1985-1990 period.” Captain 1st Rank Soldatenkov intends to stand his ground on this score to the end. At the same time, GlavKEU workers said that they found it difficult to believe that they had to go so far as to convince Mossoviet Second Co-Chairman Colonel Sh. Mikeyev of the obvious: The city's debt is just that—a debt, not a gift or a handout. The square meters of housing stipulated in the decree have been allotted special state funds, material and human resources, equipment, etc. Stories about the Army's taking housing away from Muscovites are nothing but speculation intended to misinform the public. The co-chairman's response was that the capital itself is short of housing, and that an attempt should be made to appreciate the situation.

“What are we—spongers?” asked an irritated Major General Yarmak. “Some city areas have already received more than half the yearly housing requirement. This with the Mosstroy committee accomplishing 40 percent of the 1990 construction plan. They are not even giving us this 40 percent!”

Coordinating Committee member V. Kot is of the opinion that private construction should be emphasized.

The GlavKEU feels that private construction is proceeding as fast as it can. The plan calls for 1,800 apartments for next year; direct arrangements with Housing Construction Combine No 3 may produce another 200. However, much depends upon suppliers—the Mosgorispolkom plants.

The degree of satisfaction of supply deliveries and of contractual obligations does not warrant discussion. What will happen tomorrow, when the market takes over?

“We hope that the Mossoviet can do as much as accomplish the 92nd resolution of its presidium,” said committee members.

A draft of the resolution was being prepared by the Combined Committee. The following figures are provided for reference. In 1991, the military will be doled out under the gorispolkom limits 50,000 square meters of total space in new construction, housing construction and housing cooperatives, and 40,000 square meters of whatever remains from the old fund. The figures by their very nature raise questions. What will the ratio be between state housing and cooperative housing? Judging from this year, it will be necessary to dig into the pockets to pay the lion's share. It is a nice thing if a person has something in savings, but our people do not have much. The same Yuriy Nikitovich Soldatenkov feels that compelling—and that is what it amounts to—a serviceman, who has no second income, to purchase housing is highly unethical. This delivers the knockout punch to the officer corps “privileges,” its thanks for loss of health, inconvenience of the family, and, as a rule, for many years of faultless service.

Just what is meant by 40,000 square meters from "whatever remains" from the fund? Who will leave a "remainder," and when, is known only to the Almighty.

The 92nd resolution was announced in a press conference in the beginning of October. Need one mention the furor raised by apartment-seekers when A. Osovtshev, chairman of the Mossovet Permanent Committee on Social Policy announced that those needing housing will be so provided in 18 months, speaking optimistically, in two years and three months, speaking pessimistically? No matter how one looks at the presidium's resolution, he will find no mention made of the enormous debts. It is impossible to make the ends meet, regardless of how the figures are rearranged.

A question: Can the fact that the Mossovet's debt is being written off gradually by this document be a source of satisfaction for 10,500 apartment seekers and their dependents?

The committee is soliciting the Proletarskiy Rayon Soviet to introduce its representatives into the rayon housing commission to maintain a watch over distribution of housing to servicemen. If the decision is positive, let the representatives stand steadfastly behind their principles! However, as they keep an eagle eye on each other, let us not give anyone the satisfaction of our being deceived on the main issue. Let there be something to distribute, instead of fighting over crumbs falling off a table or going along with paying thousands of rubles asked by a cooperative or being satisfied with ancient ruins.

On one hand, the coming into being of the Combined Committee is an indication of democratization of the Armed Forces and the growth of social activity on the part of servicemen. On the other, it shows that many are driven to despair. Would that this were confined to Moscow! In this connection, one cannot help but support the following request the committee made in its letter to the President: "Make it incumbent upon the USSR Council of Ministers to adopt as soon as possible the decree providing housing to all categories of servicemen, with clear delineation of the obligations of the Union republics, Ministry of Defense, and local organs of authority; and develop reliable machinery to assure apartment-seeking servicemen social protection under conditions of a market economy..."

The public-spirited persons are blazing a new trail. They are not sparing of their own time, at times walking through thornbushes, making mistakes here and there. Be that as it may, it would appear that the fact that this kind of organization exists is a powerful factor in the resolution of one of the most pressing social problems. In addition, the committee in acting in behalf of all apartment-seeking servicemen on duty in the Moscow garrison is taking on an enormous responsibility. This includes responsibility for a principled and steadfast position on the Mossovet's housing policy.

(The Moscow Combined Serviceman's Committee on Housing meets every Wednesday at 1830 hours in the

Socio-Political Center of the Leningradskiy Rayon. The address is: Volokolamskoye Shosse, 10.)

All-Union Commanders' Conference on Discipline
*91UM0147A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
7 Dec 90 First Edition p 1*

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents Lt Col A. Oliynik and Lt Col I. Sergeyev: "Commanders Hold Council: Discipline and Order Discussed at All-Union Conference"]

[Text] What must be done to render the process of strengthening military discipline and order more dynamic, with inclusion of all the peculiarities associated with contemporary development of the Soviet Armed Forces? What are the role and task of noncommissioned officer and officer command personnel relative to the struggle against the infamous hazing of new recruits, to uniting the Army's multiethnic collectives? These and other pressing problems were at the center of discussion held by participants in the All-Union Conference of Junior and Mid-Level Command Personnel that held its first session on 5 December, hosted by the Guards Tank Kantemirov Division imeni Yu. V. Andropov.

The group was addressed by Marshall of the Soviet Union D. T. Yazov, the USSR Minister of Defense. He pointed out that the conference was called in compliance with an ukase issued by the President of the USSR. Problems related to discipline and order in the military have attained nationwide proportions; maintenance of the country's defensive capability depends largely on their resolution. It is the professional and service duty of every commander and political worker to see that the military collectives with which they are entrusted are devoid of nonregulation interpersonal relations, and that young soldiers are not subjected to hazing. Success in this area would at the same time take the wind out of the sails of those who are inclined to circulate political speculations relative to the existence of negative phenomena in the Army. This kind of speculation, reinforced by unconstitutional acts committed in a number of republics, have had the effect of encouraging 35,000 draft-age youths to avoid last year's callup. The conscription quota went unfulfilled in Georgia, Armenia, the Baltic republics, and western oblasts of the Ukraine. There are presently more than 4,300 deserters at large, with many of them protected from responsibility by local organs of authority.

The minister stated that it is quite clear that the Army was purposely selected as the object of attacks by destructive forces. The members of the Army and Navy and all the Soviet people have welcomed the presidential ukases on strengthening the social and legal protection of military personnel, implementing the suggestions made by the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, and certain legislation on defense problems passed in republics.

Colonel General N. I. Shlyaga, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, presented a

thorough analysis of violation of the principle of nonregulation relations between service personnel in Army and Navy ranks. He made particular mention of the Far Eastern and Turkestan military districts, the Northern and Pacific Ocean fleets, and certain other districts and fleets, where nurturing work is usually conducted in a buddy style, thus excluding the possibility of negative phenomena that are associated with multiethnic military collectives.

The speaker in his report pointed out the very close attention demanded by the problem of interethnic relations in Army collectives. Recent events that transpired in Namangan and in other areas of the country indicate the danger of underestimating the ethnic aspect of nurturing. Commanders and political workers, party and Komsomol organizations should develop a sensitivity to all moods in Army collectives and among persons of various ethnic origins, and keep the psychological situation in units and aboard ships from being influenced by negative phenomena.

Participating in a discussion of the above report were Sergeant A. Pokhiton, a squad leader in Air Defense Troops; Senior Lieutenant V. Kucheryavykh, tank regiment reconnaissance platoon leader in the Northern Group of Forces; First Sergeant G. Stasilevich, deputy motorized rifle platoon leader in the Southern Group of Forces; Lieutenant General A. Katusev, chief military procurator and deputy general procurator of the USSR; Lieutenant Colonel G. Mukamadeyev, missile regiment commander; Senior Lieutenant O. Gogolev, deputy company commander for political affairs in the Western Group of Forces; Senior Lieutenant I. Bondarenko, tank company commander in the Moscow Military District.

Representatives of the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers are participating in the work of the conference. Lyudmila Nikolayevna Zinchenko of Chelyabinsk spoke of the selfless work being carried out by soldiers' mothers in military units, military hospitals, and at induction stations. She directed a reproach at local authorities who are inattentive to the needs of officers, enlisted men, and their dependents. She appealed to all mothers of soldiers to do what they can to help their soldier sons.

The conference participants adopted an appeal to servicemen, their parents, state and social organizations, and to patriotic movements.

A detailed report on the conference is to follow.

Biography of New Deputy Minister Achalov

91UM0232A Moscow Krasnaya Zvezda in Russian
28 Dec 90 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "Colonel-General ACHALOV, Vladislav Alekseyevich, USSR Deputy Minister of Defense"]

[Text] Vladislav Alekseyevich Achalov was born on November 13, 1945 in the village of Atamysh, Arsk District of the Tatar ASSR, to a peasant-kolkhoz worker family. In

1966 he completed the Kazan Tank Red Banner School imeni Presidium of the TASSR Supreme Soviet.

He began his service in the armed forces as commander of a tank platoon. Subsequently he became commander of a tank company. In 1973, after completing the Military Academy for Armored Forces, he was appointed deputy commander of a regiment in an airborne division. In 1974 he became regiment commander. From 1977 he was deputy commander of an airborne division, and in 1978, commander of the airborne division. In 1984 he completed the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and was appointed first deputy commander of a tank army. In 1985 he became commander of the army. In 1987 he was Chief of Staff and First Deputy Commander of Forces of the Leningrad Military District. He has been commander of airborne forces since 1989.

Cases Against Deserters May Be Dropped

91UM0284A Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with Major General of Justice V. Smirnov, deputy main military procurator, by V. Badurkin under the rubric "Mini-Interview"; place and date not given: "Advice for Deserters"]

[Text] The newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda contained a statement by the Main Military Procuracy refuting information published in that same newspaper from Colonel General V. Achalov, USSR deputy minister of defense, to the effect that "criminal proceedings will not be instituted against soldiers who have left their units, and they will be able to serve out the rest of their time..."

Our correspondent asked Major General of Justice V. Smirnov, deputy main military procurator, to comment on this statement.

[Smirnov] According to the Criminal Code, willful absence from a unit for a period greater than three days is a crime, and the commanding officer of a military unit in any instance is obligated to take criminal action. It is another question whether the case will be dropped or brought to court.

[Badurkin] But, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, the majority of deserters insist that they left their unit because of hazing...

[Smirnov] In the event that this is proved by an investigation—and only by an investigation—such a deserter, as a rule, is cleared of criminal liability.

[Badurkin] What is the best way for those to act who have "gone on the run"?

[Smirnov] I advise all of them to go to organs of the procuracy as quickly as possible (military or territorial) or to representatives of the authorities and make the appropriate statement. In the first place this will put an end to their absence from the unit, and in the second

place it will allow us to get to the bottom of the case more quickly.[Badurkin] And will such a person be immediately confined to the guardhouse?

[Smirnov] Not automatically. As a rule, we assign those who have not been "on the run" for long to the nearest military unit until the investigation is over and a decision has been made.

Armaments Chief on Habitability of Armored Vehicles

91UM0166A Moscow TYL VOORUZHENNYKH SIL
in Russian No 10, Oct 90 (Signed to press 22 Oct 90)
pp 36-38

[Article by Lt Gen S. Mayev, deputy commander in chief of ground forces for armaments, under the rubric "Combat Readiness: Qualitative Parameters": "The Armor Is Powerful, But What Lies Behind it?"]

[Text] The summer sun was approaching its zenith, parching things unmercifully, and not even the shade from the observation tower at the range provided any relief. The regimental commander now and again wiped his brow with a wet handkerchief and lovingly observed the scene unfolding before him.

Beneath him the tanks were rapidly lining up. A few minutes later the crucial moment of the exercise arrived, the live firing.

"Now the tankmen will strike and tear up the range," the regimental commander said, not without pride. This is the best battalion firing. They don't miss...."

As further events developed, however, the more gloomy became the regimental commander. The attack was not so coordinated or effective, and the tankmen's fire was not so certain and accurate. The shells rarely struck the target....

The cease-fire signal was given. Soon after that the battalion turned toward the nearest woods in company columns. The tanks had barely come to a halt in the edge of the woods, when the men in their coveralls began to leap through the hatches and immediately flop down, exhausted, onto the grass. The angry commander leapt into his Uazik and sped to the tanks.

"Have you forgotten how to fire or something? You klutzes!" he said, dressing down the exhausted battalion commander, the latter's hands shaking from nervous tension and fatigue.

"It's awfully hot, comrade colonel," the deputy commander for armaments said, coming to the aid of the battalion commander. "It's a real hellhole inside the tanks...."

And that is true. One of the greatest problems for the crews of the combat vehicles is the poor habitability and discomfort inside the compartments.

It is an extremely difficult thing to improve the habitability of the combat vehicles without increasing their size and weight. Military theory has been struggling with the problem for more than just a single decade.

The working environment beneath the hatch door of a combat vehicle is not an easy one. The human organism is affected by an entire system of negative physical, chemical and even biological factors. It has been determined that the greater the extent of their effect, the lower the operating capacity of the crew and the individual.

One can judge how important this is for maintaining good combat capability from the following information alone. According to data published in the foreign press the human element within the "man-machine" system accounts for up to 40% of the failures in missile tests, 64% of the malfunctions in the Navy and 70% in the Air Force. Due to loss of functional ability on the part of the crew in battle situations 40% of the great capabilities of artillery systems is not utilized, 20-30% in the case of SAM systems, and 30-50% for missiles.

High temperatures in the compartments are one of the main problems for the crews of the combat vehicles. They are a full order above the outside temperature. But when the accumulated heat in the organism exceeds the maximum permissible level (9 kilojoules per kilogram of weight), there is a drastic drop in the functioning of the cardiovascular system, which can even result in death. The increased level of carbon monoxide in the compartments also has serious effects upon the human organism. It can produce a profound breakdown in the functioning of the central nervous system.

The crew of a combat vehicle is also negatively affected by noise, vibrations, accelerations and electromagnetic, optical and ionizing radiation. Chemical substances emitted by the combat and technical equipment, fuel components, powder, explosive and exhaust gases and operating fluids are no less damaging to humans. If the combat training situation forces the personnel to remain for long periods of time within sealed enclosures, biological factors are added to all this. The increased perspiration results in intensive emission of decomposition by-products and the development of microbes and fungi.

The combat equipment of the ground troops does not yet fully meet the technical medical requirements for lighting at job stations or for joint and individual protective equipment. The noise in tracked equipment in motion exceeds the maximum permissible level by 10-40 decibels. Artificial lighting levels at the work stations are 20-50 luxes below the norm. We need to admit that failure to meet the habitability requirements is the main cause of occupational illnesses and consequently, early discharge of military personnel.

This situation is in great part a result of the fact that from the time the design work was begun until recently the development and introduction of joint and individual means for providing normal habitability were not adequately pursued. The requirements for the microclimate in models of mobile surface equipment were met, mainly with ventilation and heating, only for outside temperatures of +/-20 degrees centigrade. It is impossible, however, to provide temperature and humidity conditions within a broad range of outside temperatures without an air conditioner. Air conditioners are not provided for most models of combat equipment, though. As a result, field and range tests have shown, the speed of movement of the vehicles drops by 79%, the time required to perform fire missions increases by 35%, and the number of misses during fire grows by 40%

during combat training exercises, when the microclimate in the inhabited compartments is unsatisfactory.

Conditions inside a combat vehicle can be improved considerably by designing it with ventilating, heating and cooling devices, as well as equipment for regulating the gas situation. Even housekeeping devices for boiling water, heating food and drying uniforms and footwear, and medicines would significantly improve habitability. Providing such equipment for the crews of combat vehicles would considerably improve the living conditions of the personnel.

This makes it necessary to develop individual clothing with electrical or chemical heating and cooling. The design agencies of the medical and clothing supply services could have a say in this, of course.

The use of individual equipment does not mean abandoning the development of air conditioners. We already have thermoelectric conditioners employing semiconductor heating elements, which, incidentally, provide an alternative to environmentally harmful Freon elements. They are highly reliable, effective and resistant to vibrations and sudden accelerations, and use little energy.

A study of the fulfillment of requirements for ergonomics and habitability in certain models of military equipment has shown, unfortunately, that existing special standards for microclimate, inside air, airtightness, sound and vibration insulation and amenities for the personnel are not being met at the plant itself.

Nonetheless, no sort of power and no automated devices can replace man. He still occupies the crucial place, so to speak, in the mechanization of weaponry.

The work performed to realize the technical medical requirements for level of gas in the air and for noise is still unsatisfactory in the vast majority of combat equipment models. This results in a situation in which the concentration of powder gases in the breathing space can exceed the maximum permissible level by a factor of 2-10 even 15-20 minutes after a firing.

It should be noted that sorption-catalytic filters which can purify the air of carbon monoxide within a large range of temperatures and at a high volumetric speed have already been developed and tested. The decision has not yet been made to mass-produce and deliver them, however.

These are the kind of extreme conditions in which the crew of a combat vehicle has to exist during exercises and maneuvers. There is no question that extra food and intermediate snacks could help to increase the organism's physical capabilities.

Unfortunately, except for butter, no milk or dairy products are included in the rations of the personnel of combat vehicles, except for stays in hospitals. It is difficult to provide the personnel with fresh milk on a march, of course, but powdered milk can be substituted. It is not difficult to prepare milk from concentrate when there is a boiling device on the combat vehicles.

It is fundamentally important for the normal organization of the work in airtight combat vehicles to equip them with either sewage-disposal devices or with receptacles for body waste. In models designed to be operated 24 hours or more without exit for the crew, provisions must be made for them to rest (sleep) lying down, as well as equipment for preparing hot food and water.

I feel that the following are the main causes of deficiencies in providing habitability in combat vehicles. In the first place, the nation lacks plants and design offices for developing and producing technical habitability support equipment. Secondly, the absence of precise regulations on the procedure, the rules and methods of providing habitability is of considerable importance. In the third place, of course, the absence of the very methods for assessing and evaluating habitability in models of combat equipment is having a negative effect. And this important component is still in the design stage.

In the fourth place, the transfer of the expert appraisal of most of the harmful habitability factors ordinarily to the stages of acceptance (state) testing has an extremely harmful effect. There, actually in the final stage, it is practically impossible to take major technical steps to provide normal habitability. One could name other causes of such a lamentable situation with respect to habitability.

All of these problems need to be resolved. And I believe that the rear service specialists and clearly defined interaction with agencies engaged in the development and design of combat vehicles have a significant role in this.

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IMEMO Academicians Defend Utility of Naval Power

91UM0161A Moscow MORSKOY SBORNIK
in Russian No 10, Oct 90 pp 3-5

[Article by Retired Captain 1st Rank A. Mazerkin, USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economics and International Relations research associate and participant in strategic arms reduction negotiations with the United States, and M. Svanidze, IMEMO research associate, under the rubric "Military Reform: Reference Point on Qualitative Indicators": "A Strong State: Is It Possible Without Modern Armed Forces"]

[Text] Quantitative parity between the United States and the USSR was achieved during the 1960's and 1970's with the development of nuclear missile weapons. Quantitative but not qualitative.

One of the causes of our lag in weapons quality was linked with the extensive development of the Soviet economy as a whole and also as a consequence of its defense sectors. In this regard in our country the primary emphasis was made on the development of nuclear missile weapons. An unjustifiably abrupt reduction of other branches of the Armed Forces—the Navy and the Air Force—was begun. Personnel strength was reduced by 1.2 million men and military equipment (a significant quantity of aircraft, tanks, and the latest cruisers) was cut up for scrap metal. In the area of technology, we found ourselves thrown back many years. As a result, the Air Force was weakened and the Arab-Israeli Conflict confirmed that American built aircraft had indisputable superiority over Soviet built aircraft.

The Navy was also a loser. Here technology, which was oriented on qualitative parameters, and poor scientific production facilities did not provide one of the main branches of the Navy—submarines—with the required low noise features which substantially impeded realization of their most important tactical properties—concealment of operations. Just recently efforts in this sphere have begun to bear tangible fruit although the problem of retaining the achieved parameters during the process of lengthy submarine operations remains. Another primary branch of the Navy—naval aviation is still overcoming difficulties it shares with the country's Air Force.

Finally, the very task of balanced development of naval forces remains a serious problem. So, for example, pursuit of a momentary benefit has significantly complicated efforts to create aircraft carrying ships under conditions of the loss of experience and special technologies. The development program of this class of ships is really resource-intensive and therefore subject to very fierce criticism in society. But the individuals who criticize it are far from the navy or responsibility for the country's security. Their arguments do not contain professional quantitative and qualitative analysis and are based only on emotions and exploitation of the fashionable thesis on an excessively high percentage of military expenditures in the country's national income.

Instead of specific proposals directed at increasing this same income which would also permit reduction of the percentage of appropriations for military needs, they continue to paint a picture of a military monster whose destruction is a panacea for today's economic troubles. Poorly done work to explain the concept of defensive sufficiency and the reorganization of the Armed Forces probably promotes this. Here for some reason primary emphasis is being made only on the quantitative reduction of personnel and individual types of weapons which causes a desire among some people to go even further right up to elimination of entire classes and types of weapons. As a rule, the consequences of such proposals, and recent history knows this, are not being taken into account. It is true that you need to know history to do this but even the analysis of the current state and direction of development of the United States and NATO armed forces provides quite definite reference points. It is impossible not to see for example that the United States is actively carrying out development of the latest non-traditional types of weapons which are similar in effectiveness (destructive force) to nuclear weapons. Third generation nuclear weapons are also simultaneously being developed that are designed to destroy hardened targets with the minimal discharge of harmful radiation into the atmosphere.

It is clearly obvious that long-term development trends for the United States armed forces consist in the transfer of military power to naval and space laser weapons. Tests have already been conducted of a laser beam that is reflected from a mirror on a space vehicle against earth-based targets. This weapon also makes up the primary "core" of the SDI Program—a strike weapon capable of effectively destroying targets on earth from space.

SDI Program appropriations continue to remain a priority. "We must develop SDI's tremendous prospects and deploy this system when it is ready," George Bush stressed recently. "Despite the modification of the Soviet threat, the world continues to be a dangerous place where threats remain to the United States's important interests."

The search for fundamentally new types of weapons for the next global rearmament cycle based on the latest achievements of scientific and technological progress is being conducted at full speed in the United States. These are first of all "unmanned" and "sparsely-manned" weapons based on non-traditional principles, primarily aerospace and naval systems. One can understand the position of the United States which has assessed the unchanged role of naval and space ships as platforms for deployment of powerful sources of energy and insurance of weapons operability or of the initiation of other types of weapons. Modernization of missile and aircraft weapons based on Stealth technology is occurring in parallel with the development of new types of weapons which makes a fundamental review of tactics and equipment of the entire Air Defense System as a whole necessary and its creation on other outstanding principles on a global scale.

In this regard, an urgent search for alternative solutions is certainly necessary and first of all in the political sphere. Before the deployment of these systems becomes

irreversible, it is already important today to take specific steps to prevent deployment of new weapons types and to limit or ban them. Delay can only result in the continuation of the arms race.

Furthermore, while seeking arms reductions, we must bear in mind that today asymmetries in conventional weapons (the subject of the United States' special concern in Europe)—is unfortunately the only way that we can compensate for the U.S.'s technological superiority. Otherwise, having eliminated the asymmetry, we would place ourselves in an obviously unfavorable position.

If the NATO countries resort to a total ban on nuclear weapons, we cannot compensate for the gap in the time periods to create an adequate defensive potential since the other side not only has more modern weapons at its disposal, it also has superiority in production capacity which compels us to maintain nuclear weapons against our will and contrary to world public opinion.

We would particularly like to dwell on the issues of modernization of the navy and naval weapons on which the United States is counting. While considering itself to be a so-called "Island Power," it will continue, as George Bush stated, to develop naval forces even while the Soviet Union drastically reduces its own navy.

We cannot agree with the assertion that the USSR is a "land" power and consequently its naval interests are allegedly insignificant and that we can disregard their protection. Actually it was also previously impossible to defend our own territory just from the shore and at the present time this is all the more absolutely impossible. Therefore any hypothesis that excludes our utilization of the ocean, especially in light of the increase of the naval and space thrust of U.S. armed forces development, will be profoundly mistaken. This is all the more obvious when we talk about such a major naval power as the USSR.

We need to look ahead and not hold on to perceptions that are receding into the past. Under modern conditions, proposals for a unilateral renunciation to improve our Armed Forces naval and space programs are fraught with serious consequences for our own security. Today it is already impossible to approach the structural development of the Armed Forces with previous extensive criteria. It is also impossible to not see that their development in a number of states is based on new systems that are no less effective than nuclear weapons both in defense and also in the destruction of targets on foreign territory. To be late to recognize the need for future arms development means to inflict irreparable damage to both the economy and policy of the state. Therefore, while following the path of Armed Forces reduction, it is impossible to forget the fact that a strong state needs a modern army. To practically achieve this goal, we need to direct a large portion of the resources released as a result of disarmament into scientific-technical development in the military sphere. The broader utilization of the latest technologies in civilian production, which is

also very important, will certainly be the result of the unification of scientific and technical potential.

While carrying out the reduction of the army but without at the same time lowering its combat capability, it is necessary to release the Armed Forces from performing national economic tasks that are not characteristic to it. According to data from the Swedish Institute of Strategic Studies (alas, we have to depend on these data), there are up to 1.5 million construction personnel in our army. For example, up to ten military construction brigades participated in the construction of the BAM [Baykal-Amur Railway]. At the present time, they have been tasked with the construction of roads in the Non-Chernozem Zone and many other things, including agriculture. Elimination of this type of activity would create the opportunity both for a significant reduction of Armed Forces strength and for resolution of purely army tasks. This would also permit an increase in discipline and eliminate a number of negative phenomena in the military environment such as dedovshchina [hazing of conscripts] by conscripting full-fledged healthy people.

Furthermore, military and political confrontation between East and West has been substantially reduced recently and preconditions have developed for the creation of a common European political and economic community that includes the USSR. The creation of a European defense alliance and an integrated European army with equally weighted participation by the USSR and the United States could certainly become a logical continuation of this process. Evidence of this is the search for new military and political structures in Europe. This development of events would permit the guarantee of the inviolability of the participating countries' national borders, would prevent the outbreak of military competition and armed conflicts on the continent, and would strengthen stability in the region as a whole. And our Armed Forces must also be prepared for this prospect.

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Shortcomings in Mine Warfare Training, Readiness

91UM0118A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
24 Nov 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Capt 3rd Rank V. Torba, student at the Naval Academy imeni Rear Admiral of the Soviet Union N.G. Kuznetsov: "They Completed the Mission... Theoretically"]

[Text] The reform being carried out in the Army and Navy calls first of all for better preparedness of the armed forces to perform their assigned missions. Most of the combat training, however, still involves much which is hypothetical. And this certainly does not help to improve the military skills. Take just the use of mine and antimeine weapons by the Navy's ships. I can judge this with a fair degree of competence as a former squadron underwater weapons expert.

It takes approximately twice as much time to run through the combat exercises without simplifying things as allowed by the regulations on engine use. Even this time is far from always used efficiently, however. The ship may not be allowed into the scheduled combat training area at the designated time due to poor visibility or an adverse weather forecast....

A delay in entering the area certainly does not ensure that extra time will be allotted over that indicated in the plan. The next time the missions will not be the same. Furthermore, one is not patted on the back, so to speak, for failure to complete the combat training plan. And so, those in charge of the combat training exercises resort to simplifications or even the falsification of reports on plan fulfillment.

In addition to this, the technical capabilities are sometimes inadequate for fulfilling the plan. For example, practice bottom mines with proximity fuses have to be laid in advance for combat training involving noncontact mine-sweeping. The navy lacks mines with which to test the performance of certain types of noncontact mine-clearing devices, however. Just how are the exercises to be carried out in this situation?

Reports still have to be submitted even following this kind of "training." A few years ago there was discussion about reducing the number and the scope of the written reports. Exactly the opposite changes were made, however. So the commanders of combat units and squadron specialists now compile even more reports, clearly aware that they are fabricated.

We can hardly expect changes for the better, if the squadron specialists and training directors continue to bear responsibility for breakdowns in the training plans due to circumstances beyond their control and if evaluations for the training are made not for competent performance based on the tactical situation, but for the fictitious observance of fabricated circumstances.

Correspondent Observes Pacific Fleet Operations

*91UM0132A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
29 Nov 90 First Edition p 5; 30 Nov 90
First Edition p 3*

[Article by SELSKAYA ZHIZN Special Correspondent N. Artapukh from a Pacific Fleet garrison under rubric "A Word About the Army": "Majestic People"]

[29 Nov 90 First Edition p 5]

[Text] No passenger seats are provided aboard combat aircraft. The SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent made a long flight over the ocean in a crew member's seat.

Ahead of Border Outposts

Pacific Fleet Air Force Commander General V. Akporisov listened to my arguments, looked at me with a long, exploring gaze and turned back to the aircraft window without a response, examining the white clouds

flowing beneath us. My request was simple—give permission for me to fly with a combat aircraft crew. The arguments were unpretentious—I myself served in the Army, I have a reserve officer rank, and after the flight I would write knowledgeably about the service of naval aviators. I also anticipated the answer—we don't take passengers, or something more venomous. After having had contact with pilots, I knew that they were masters of witticism. The general was silent...

A small group of officers met the general's aircraft at the airfield. He heard a report and asked several questions. Standing to one side, I suddenly heard my first name and patronymic. Vasiliy Vasilyevich called me over, introduced me to the officers and gave an order to one of them:

"Colonel Levkin, teach the correspondent to use a parachute and give him a proper turn on the simulator; in short, ready him for tomorrow's flights."

There is no denying that we sometimes are lucky!! The fact is, General Akporisov probably took no small amount of responsibility on himself in allowing a civilian to fly in a combat aircraft. As I later came to understand, however, Vasiliy Vasilyevich is of the firm conviction that any job, especially military, should be written about by people who at least have had contact with it. It is mostly amateurs who now have risen up to attack the Army. A biased selection of facts can be seen in their works, or the facts generally even have been replaced by naked emotions, so to speak.

Colonel Valeriy Aleksandrovich Levkin, commander of an ASW air regiment, briefly acquainted me with the range of missions assigned to his unit:

"We have to keep foreign submarines from penetrating into a vast sea area and reliably protect our far-eastern coasts against any surprises."

The dimensions of this area are impressive even on a large-scale map. Nevertheless, the regiment's pilots cope with the missions: they have many detected submarines to their credit. In tracing the chronicle of their air operations, I see what great, constant interest foreign fleets have in our territorial waters, combatant ships and strategic installations. I recalled a conversation with Pacific Fleet Commander Admiral G. Khvatov, who said that the United States has approximately 600 combatant ships in commission, including 15 aircraft carriers. America's Pacific Seventh Fleet is constantly present around Japan, i.e., in the neighborhood of our Kuriles, Sakhalin, and Primorye, while the U.S. Third Fleet is "oriented" toward Kamchatka. Frankly speaking, these are impressive forces: 200-240 ships, of which there are 7 aircraft carriers with 600 aircraft aboard, 80 percent of which are capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

And Japan, our eastern neighbor, has hundreds of combatant ships. Traditional Team Spirit exercises conducted in these parts include such missions as the landing of amphibious assault forces on foreign territory.

For our part we strictly adhere to a defensive doctrine. Reproaches addressed to our military that they are whipping up fear seem to me to be clearly unfounded. They are realists. They have a good understanding of the situation and realize that the time to write off combat equipment and weapons as scrap will not come soon.

A formation of personnel was held near the regiment's training facility. The commander read an order conferring the next military ranks on officers A. Toporikov, V. Kakhutin, A. Kovalenko and S. Kuznetsov. There were congratulations and discreet jokes. "Newly-made" Captain Toporikov invited me to the airborne service. Noticing that I was not feeling that confident, Deputy Regimental Commander A. Machkasov, smiling reassuringly, promised support.

I listened to the briefing among the female parachute packers and then sat down in suspension lines hooked to the ceiling in order to demonstrate in practice the knowledge I had just gained. Alas, one cannot master all this at the first crack. Again there were explanations, practical exercises and a repeat exam.

"At what altitude do you release the lifeboat? How do you use the portable radio? When do you throw off the harness suspension straps as you hit the water? How do you properly get into a boat out of the water?"

God forbid that all this theory has to be reinforced by practice. Meanwhile the officers warned me that I have to get hold of myself, otherwise my pressure will jump and the medical commission will not let me go on the flight. It seemed to me, however, that I had the appearance of some kind of cold-blooded Viking.

Late in the evening the regimental commander said that there was an okay for two flights. The night passed in some kind of anxious half-sleep. I was dreaming about making a parachute jump into the November waters of the Pacific Ocean and recalling symbolic graves of dead crews. A couple of days ago I somehow felt more comfortable on a completely neglected pig farm to which journalistic concerns had taken me.

In the morning Vasiliy Aleksandrovich handed me flight gear, a helmet with built-in headset and microphone, life vest, oxygen mask and a belt with a knife and told me to change and rig up. In a few minutes I did not differ in any way from the officers around me. They took a quick smoke in the messhall and this was followed by a satisfactory medical commission.

Everyone knows that one cannot smoke on an aircraft. We smoked to our hearts' content in advance, as they say. Aircraft commander Major N. Stadnichenko took out a pouch with makhorka and passed it around. And my pilots, lords of formidable weapons and world-class combat equipment, clumsily rolled "goat legs": they have not yet become accustomed to it... A feeling of burning shame before them came over me. I did not yet know that this feeling would roll like a feverish wave more than once during this temporary duty assignment...

The gray strip of sky increased before my eyes. It was cool. Technicians were already gyrating with might and main near the enormous, cumbersome aircraft. I ascended the steep ladder to the aircraft right after the commander, sat down in the second sonarman's seat, put on the harness suspension straps and helmet with built-in headset and throat microphone, and connected the oxygen mask. One of the officers came up to me with a friendly smile and helped me hook into the on-board communications. The engines started and the cumbersome machine started off smoothly.

What did I feel and experience? I won't give a snap answer, as they say. I was happy to be flying with real men. But an hour went by and I continued to sit; it was time to get something for the notebook. I freed myself of the parachute and met the gaze of the neighboring officer. Navigator Captain G. Chernov immediately appeared from behind my back. The aviators realized that the journalist had not come to the post to go for a ride. The navigator sat me down next to himself.

"Five computers are installed aboard," said Gennadiy Vladimirovich. "Electronics help accomplish missions without errors. We will be at the target soon, but for now I will explain a few things to you."

The navigator input initial data to the computer, pressed keys, and the correct solution to the mission was output to the screen: at what altitude, at what distance to the target, and so on, was it necessary to drop the torpedo so that the target would be hit with the first drop. Everything was extremely simple if, of course, you performed the operations competently and knew your job to perfection. In old types of aircraft the navigator did not let the slide rule out of his hands and performed duty intensely, but now it is a different matter.

"What if the equipment fails?"

"This, too, has been provided for. There are backup versions. And finally, that same slide rule is nearby."

I sat down in the seat again, hooked into the on-board communications and soon heard: "Approaching target. Attention! Release!" A new report came after about ten seconds: "Commander, target hit!" How could that be? Why had I seen and felt nothing? True, there were clouds beneath us, but the aircraft should have been jarred or something else should have occurred. I headed for the aircraft commander. The major was focused, but proper. The correspondent didn't see the target? Now we will try to show it to him. The aircraft smoothly banked and descended through the clouds. I saw the target! A half-sunken steamer had been demolished from a sniperlike hit.

It was getting time for dinner and we returned to base. I was interested in what there would be for dinner today. The regimental commander threatened dry rations,

which meant the messhall was not anticipated. We barely landed when the automatic hatch opened and

someone below shouted in an angry voice: "Correspondent, to the exit; make it snappy!"

I quickly descended and ran with the officer to the "kalambina" (that is what the aviators call the ZIL-180 with hut); during the two-minute drive at maximum speed I learned that an aircraft already was awaiting me with engines running. Again the steep ladder, harness suspension straps, lock, helmet with built-in headset and microphone, oxygen mask, on-board communications—I'm ready, Comrade Commander.

Altitude—8,000 m, course—Kuriles, mission—hunt a foreign submarine.

It is common knowledge that the state's forward line is guarded by Border Guard personnel. Navymen and naval pilots stand their watch ahead of the border outputs, on distant approaches to our shores. Responsibility for the tranquility of the state rests on their shoulders together with shoulderboards. And these modest people, these majestic people, understand superbly how important their work is. It is also not out of place for us all to remember this.

We flew in a pair. We had one type of equipment to hunt the submarine aboard our aircraft, and there was another type aboard the wingman's aircraft.

The harness suspension straps held me firmly in their embrace. My shoulders and back began to ache and I wanted to eat. My neighbor on the right, a very clever man, caught the meaning of my squirming, unfastened his parachute and gave me a dry ration. It would be necessary to fly a long while, during which time one could even get to Moscow from Vladivostok. I unwrapped the package and studied the contents. Two little 100-gram cans of apple and grape juice, a diminutive little can of Tourist's Breakfast beef, a 15-gram Sport chocolate bar and a little package of pastries—11 pieces the size of a three-kopeck coin—and about 250-300 grams of fluffy bread.

I decided against the canned stewed meat right away: the can was swollen. I ate some bread with juice and regaled myself on the chocolate bar. A thermos with hot tea was standing about a meter from me, but no one went up to it, nor did I sit down over a tea either. My sense of hunger did not pass. This is where I appreciated the taste of bread from home! Breaking it off piece by piece, I stretched out the pleasure.

After flying across the Kurile Range, the aircraft dropped sonobuoys which sensitively pick up extraneous noises above and beneath the water. Not even an hour of air patrolling had gone by when one sonobuoy was triggered. They took a bearing and soon saw a Soviet tanker proceeding on its business in the ocean. There was another alarm some time later. The clouds were extremely low, but the crew quickly made out the target using a radar. That was real man's work! Work to the point of rheumatic pains appearing in the joints and with heavy overloads! Even I, the passenger, sensed its tension.

"Recently, we flew to the vicinity of the Kurile line on a call from surface ships which made and then lost contact with a foreign submarine," said aircraft navigator Major A. Gavrilov. "We placed a series of sonobuoys in one of the straits and fixed the submarine. It was like in chess: you play out all the enemy's moves far ahead, otherwise you are worthless as a military specialist. At that time I suggested to aircraft commander Major Orlov to place an additional intercept barrier. It turned out I had figured accurately. The submarine had to make off from our shores."

We returned to base already late at night. I was permitted to sit between the aircraft commander and copilot. The ground approached swiftly and the runway shone in varicolored lights, but I could not wrest my gaze from Major Orlov's hands holding the control yoke of the enormous aircraft. If I were paid exorbitant money and superb living conditions were created for me, I would not sit in the commander's seat for anything. This was not a person, but a cluster of nerves: the control yoke moved backward and forward, left and right; the landing weight was over 100 tons after using up fuel, and any error could cost lives. Now I understand why pilots often retire at 36-40 years of age and there are few who live to 50.

"It was a normal landing," said Sergey Orlov when we were on the ground. "It is worse with a strong side wind and a snowcovered runway, but you yourself understand that the Motherland has to be guarded in any weather. So today we flew well. I have a suggestion: come to my house for fried potatoes. My wife is an expert cook. She makes them in such a way that they are a real treat."

[30 Nov 90 p 3]

[Text]

Aircraft are the First Job...

A song with the following words was very fashionable at one time: "The first job, the first job is the aircraft, but what about girls? Girls come later!" And people also sang proudly about pilots who have "a flaming motor in place of a heart." Many years have gone by and many songs have been forgotten, but these lines, like a certain symbol of the era, are not erased in memory. Alas, they also are a symbol of our time. Has immortality been prepared for them?

Crammed with wise electronics and sophisticated means of fighting the enemy, capable of performing many hours of airborne alert and having a takeoff weight of almost 200 tons, the modern ASW aircraft, excuse me for saying so, does not have an elementary toilet. On making ready to fly, a flight crew especially "dehydrates" itself so that, God forbid, one does not have to go in the air.

That was why the thermos of hot tea remained untouched. Even if there are comrades next to you with whom you have flown and become friends, it is unbecoming to relieve yourself in a personal metal container before everyone's eyes. It is better to get by with dry food

in the air and to refuse liquid food before a flight. And health? What is to become of it?

Is such a thing possible, for example, aboard an American aircraft of a similar type? I doubt it. The maw of our aircraft resembles an empty streetcar filled with enormous torpedoes and other equipment for hunting and killing the enemy. But try to present claims to the designers and aircraft builders today, and immediately zealots will rise up fighting for a reduction of military expenditures. The fact is, aircraft alteration will require additional funds, while even without this the item of expenditures for defense, which means also for Air Force needs, was substantially trimmed and they will tighten it even more for next year, so people will have to continue to be tormented.

There is no question that economic difficulties in the country could not help but be reflected on the status of the Army and Navy: the military are sick with the very same ailment as the state. It is only that not everyone knows that in garrisons other problems are twisted into a refined Gordian knot which an "ordinary axe" is incapable of cutting.

Take housing. Hundreds of servicemen's families live in dormitories, in temporary housing, in warehouses, in the regimental headquarters and even in seamen's barracks. I was sought out by Captain Sergey Shelekhov on the very first day of my visit to the garrison. A first-class pilot and highly educated specialist, this father of two children lives with his family in a small hotel-type room. To gain justice in housing distribution, he went around the entire garrison, made a list of the areas of occupied apartments and family members, compiled charts, introduced factors and proved to the command authority that there were 5.73 square meters per person in one military unit, 5.63 in another, 6.63 in a third, and only 5.28 square meters in Levkin's regiment.

"And understand, finally," says the officer angrily, "that in all the military units there are 32 families that are doubling up, while there are 54 in ours alone. Another 147 families are in dilapidated homes without any conveniences."

It is possible to recount the living area of an entire garrison to the centimeter only after serious unpleasantness in life. I looked at Sergey and had the thought that the colossal work he had done would provide exactly nothing. In the garrison one house has been under construction for five years, and no charts or factors will change the essence of the problem. That same Colonel Levkin, a vigorous, intelligent commander, came up with the idea of "doubling" the cast-panel seamen's barracks and make it a two-story building. They settled families of young lieutenants with small children in the small cubicles, and everyone is very satisfied with such a "solution."

"Have you seen an aircraft graveyard?" asked the regimental commander. "Many hundreds of tons of nonferrous metal, steel, aluminum and equipment disappear before your eyes. We are receiving new equipment; the

old equipment occupies flight line parking spaces that are cramped even without that, so that we will be forced simply to shove aside the aircraft that have worked their allotted time. We would like to swap a couple of railcars of cement for these aircraft, but it is impossible; we do not have the right to dispose of scrap metal! This is the concern of state entities, which have no time for this. But the fact is, we could receive construction materials for the nonferrous metal and steel and build houses for us ourselves."

I agree with the commander—they will build them. Masters in the sky, they also are worth a great deal on the ground. And that experience already is there. That is how the unit built two poured-slag dormitories for 40 families, and they plan to put up a stone house with their own resources. Yes, it is not their job to build, but since it is tight for the state, their hands should at least be untied and they should be permitted to show initiative.

"You have to understand the simple truth," continues Valeriy Aleksandrovich, "If Army and Navy families live poorly, no one will wish to link their destiny with military service even under conditions of a professional Army."

For a long time we considered officers independent people. Let us draw a parallel with civilians. A plant worker, institute scientific associate or peasant will acquire an apartment or a house, albeit not immediately. Year by year the family fixes them up and buys good furniture, household equipment, appliances, a vehicle and so on. What does the military have? Regimental Commander Levkin, for example, is living in his fifth apartment, and he repaired and fixed up all the previous ones with his own hard-earned money. An officer is authorized free travel, but his wife and children go on leave with family money. That which was saved up for a year is spent in a month or a month and a half.

Say the time has come to be discharged to the reserve. If sons and daughters have started their own families and remained to live in the garrison, yesterday's officer will not receive an apartment in civilian life inasmuch as he did not vacate his previous one. Will you order your own children and grandchildren to be put out on the street? No. That means life has to begin from zero at age 45-47.

Never mind the discharge to the reserve! I already said that a memorial to the dead was unveiled in the air regiment. It is authorized by law to grant apartments to officers' widows with children without delay (with the exception of several cities in the Union), but local soviets use any pretexts to refuse them this right.

A supersonic missile-armed aircraft crashed on 23 November of last year. Aircraft commander V. I. Zertsalov, navigator V. L. Gusev, copilot S. A. Mavrodiyev and navigator-operator N. G. Sushkov died. In investigating reasons for the crash, an authoritative Moscow commission concluded that the crew acted competently and displayed great courage worthy of state awards. In spring of this year the USSR president signed an Ukase

awarding the four crew members the Order of Red Star posthumously. Valeriy, Vladimir, Sergey and Nikolay died as heroes, but the "valorous" clerks did not even get around to delving into the meaning of documents for widows of deceased to obtain housing.

Here is how A. I. Tkachenko, chief of the registration and living space distribution department, decided the fate of Marina Guseva. "On behalf of the heads of the Kharkov City Soviet of People's Deputies," he writes, "we announce that by city housing commission decree (Minutes No 13 of 16 July 1990), approved by City Executive Committee Decision No 197 of 8 August 1990, Citizen M. G. Guseva is refused placement on the housing register since she is not registered in Kharkov."

Dear Comrade Tkachenko, shouldn't you have taken the time to answer how the wife of an officer could be registered in Kharkov if she was with her husband in a garrison in the Far East? And then what does "placement on the register" have to do with it when it is a question of granting housing immediately?

S. I. Prisyazhnykh, deputy chairman of the Protvino Gorispolkom of Moscow Oblast, responded in a more "refined" way to Svetlana Mavrodiyeva: "You do not have the right," he said, "to an improvement of living conditions for reserve officers." For goodness' sake, deputy chairman, did you even read the documents? If you did, then what does an improvement of conditions and the reserve category have to do with it? M. P. Alferova from the Voronezh City Soviet responded to Olga Sushkova in the Kharkov mold: "We give housing to those registered with us."

We are sitting in the air regiment headquarters and Commander Levkin is telling about service. There are essentially no warrant officers, since there is no housing, and it is becoming more and more difficult to service aircraft; the number of first-term seamen has been reduced; there are many difficulties with spare parts—can one really enumerate them all?

"Just how do you perform your mission? I was told that the regiment entrusted to you is one of the best in the Pacific Fleet."

"The regiment really has had rather good success. The moral atmosphere improved with the arrival of Fleet Air Force Commander General Akporisov to the position. Take flight safety, a cornerstone of our life. Previously an emergency situation in the air was carefully concealed because they might ground an officer and reduce him in position. The commander, himself a first-class pilot, introduced an anonymous questionnaire analyzing reasons for the accident rate. In the first year of his service the staff received 127 frank answers, and in the current year 960. The commander generalized results of the study with a critique of accidents in the pages of the Fleet newspaper."

I was on the point of writing a sketch about the commander—he is an unusual, creative person—but the general resisted: better write about officers who have

honorably earned a good name. He probably is right. I became acquainted with many excellent people in those days I was in the garrison.

Sergey Orlov, with whom I flew over the Pacific Ocean, at one time made a special trip to Moscow to "force his way" to the Far East and serve under difficult conditions. As we see, he got his way. Today he is being trained to be a squadron commander not so much for his assertive character as for intelligent work of training and educating young pilots. Vladimir Shmanayev is the pride of the regiment; without him there would have been none of the present successes in combat training. Yury Komarov, Vladimir Medvedev, Sergey Filippov, Aleksandr Machkasov, Rustam Timofeyev, Sergey Rabinovich, Vladimir Pavlov... These names will remain in the regiment's military chronicle. Those named and not named wear combat orders which are not often presented in peacetime.

We flew out of the garrison at night. I had dreamed about this temporary duty more than one day, and I was returning with a sad feeling, and here is why. Defense of the homeland is a sacred job entrusted to people of integrity and purity—majestic people. Aviators perform their duty professionally and intelligently (I myself became convinced of this), but why with anguish and unjustified difficulties?

The words of parachute packers Valentina Rudakova, the two Yelenas, Zhovannik and Belykh, and Warrant Officer Vladimir Yulayev, gave me no peace:

"The temperature in the room is a maximum of 2-3 degrees in winter, but in the aircraft it is 18-20. This leads to sweating of the silk and freezing together of the parachute, which may not open in the air."

This is the kind of economy it can come down to! And the problem of job placement of officers' wives? With a higher secondary or specialized education, they agree to any work. Mavlyuda, the wife of copilot Kizilboy Tovbayev, teaches rural kids in a school 16 km from the garrison. How many times has it happened in winter that she has made her way from school on foot in a blizzard? And what is to be done if her husband is on duty almost without a break and there are two little ones at home, Dzhamilya and Kamila? Is it really impossible to open some kind of shop for putting out sewing or other articles to which women's hands are suited?

Much has been said about scarce high-altitude sea rescue suits. One crew set down at sea in February 1988. Because of the absence of such suits, the entire crew perished with the exception of the commander, a strong athlete and experienced hunter.

The Pacific Fleet newspaper BOYEVAYA VAKHTA recently published an essay entitled "Papa Has Returned!" It tells about the courage of the missile-armed aircraft crew commanded by Captain M. Antonenko. The crew took off on a mission on the day of the arrival of his wife with six-year-old daughter Nastenka from vacation. A critical situation arose in the air.

The instruction gave the right to abandon the aircraft, but how could they jump without the high-altitude sea rescue suits? This was tantamount to death, because no one would come to their help in time, and a person is capable of withstanding the icy font for a matter of minutes. The commander and crew landed the combat aircraft, displaying colossal composure and expertise of the highest sort. The firemen and ambulance ready for immediate work were not needed this time, thank God. And wife Galya howled from happiness at seeing her husband alive and unharmed.

...From now on I will follow military aircraft flying in the sky with very different eyes. Very different.

Discussion of Naval Reactor Safety

91UM0197A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
20 Dec 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Captain 3rd Rank Yu. Gladkevich, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "Nuclear-Powered Ships in the Bay. Is This Dangerous for People and the Environment?"]

[Text] When things have to do with radiation safety many of us abandon common sense and restraint. Calls to make an end to use of both the "peaceful" and the "military" atom, and radiation phobia as a factor in public awareness, are becoming normal signs of our life today. The Chernobyl tragedy, the decades of silence about the radiation situation in the country, and fear of future ecological disasters fully explain the flare-up of public attention to this important problem. But can we justify the attempts to depict our nuclear objects as deliberately dangerous misfortunes that inflict harm on both nature and man?

The formation of nuclear-powered submarines where Rear Admiral V. Rodionov serves is based at a small settlement on the littoral of the Pacific Ocean. But not far away from this is a quite large city, and the ocean waters washing the littoral are rich in fish and other maritime products. Because of this, the submariners have repeatedly had to explain things both to representatives of the local authorities and to activists from public organizations and associations of citizens, proving that the nuclear-powered vessels are in no way exacerbating the radiation situation in that region.

Three times this year, reacting to inquiries from the public, commissions have worked in the unit. The last of them—an interdepartmental commission—was also the most representative: USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputies, members of the Emergency Situation Commission, specialists—medical personnel, chemists, ecologists... They checked everything—observance of radiation safety rules by the submariners—and they took control readings on the territory of the base and the piers, at nearby bodies of water and in residential zones, and at other objects. And this is the conclusion they reached: No radiation in excess of background radiation was found...

Notwithstanding, I opened my interview with the chief of the radiation safety service for the unit, Captain 1st Rank K. Petrov, with this question: Is it really true that everything is all right?

"Of course, the nuclear reactor in a submarine is a source of heightened danger. And from time to time there is trouble." Konstantin Yuryevich opens his notebook. "Here. On one occasion, without proper consultation with the specialists, the scientists grossly violated the requirements of the manual and cut open one of the boats to conduct studies of the pipelines. But they failed to take into account the fact that there are so-called stagnant zones along sections of the pipelines where radioactive "dirt" settles. And they pulled this dirt out through the space. As a result, personnel of the radiation safety service spent a month decontaminating the boat. It was only thanks to the immediate steps taken that the safety of the submarine's crew was ensured, and the safety of the careless researchers themselves. At that time we avoided irradiation of people..."

But in general, Captain 1st Rank K. Petrov asserts, they have not had to deal with any serious emergencies in the unit. Partly because from the moment it was set up, the radiation safety service has been operating in a very disciplined and organized way, observing the rules of radiation safety.

The chief of service presented some statistics. Here, for example, is a comparative analysis of radiation doses for personnel for 1988 and 1989. Annual individual doses did not exceed the permissible level or control doses. The integrated index for radiation safety was several times less than the control figure. Compared to the natural background, the radiation background was only one order of magnitude greater, which is virtually harmless for people and the environment. The reason for the elevation was the nuclear tests held at Chinese test sites.

Some might suggest that perhaps these figures are deceptive. For previously it has so happened that public opinion has been calmed by using comparative indexes, but a check showed that those indexes had just been made up and did not reflect the real picture...

But here is how the control figures for radiation doses for personnel have changed. When our nuclear-powered fleet was first being set up, the manuals for radiation safety set the maximum permissible dose of external radiation at 50 REM per year. Later, as experience and a better scientific understanding of the effect of radioactive irradiation on the human body were gained, the dose was set at 15 REM. It has now been lowered again, and for those people engaged directly in handling the nuclear reactor the dose is only five REM.

"We have everything we need to monitor the situation reliably on our nuclear-powered vessels and on the piers and the base," claims Captain 1st Rank K. Petrov. "The laboratory is equipped with highly sensitive instruments for radiation and radiobiological monitoring of ships and objects in the environment, and of the laboratory

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JPRS-UMA-91-004
1 February 1991

equipment. Automated recording of the technical condition of measuring equipment has been put in place, and this enables us to organize the smooth operation of work to check and repair instruments..."

In fact, in technical terms the radiation safety service is equipped in a way that is the envy of other services in the country dealing with similar tasks. Equipment is purchased with the assistance of a Union company that enjoys great authority both within the country and in the foreign market. The radiation safety service possesses some unique equipment. In particular, multichannel amplitude analyzers that make it possible to identify radionuclides with a high degree of accuracy, apparatus for radiobiological monitoring of personnel... There is much else that in general determines the radiation safety service's high level of readiness to carry out its tasks.

As often happens with us, however, the service's strict dependence on higher organs and on central deliveries of all kinds of supplies, and the norms set for supplies, sometimes restrict the service's opportunities and even hamper its ability to develop operationally in a direction that a situation may demand.

The radiation safety service acquired a computer two years ago. A computer makes it possible to monitor many technological processes, and to set up many of the routine tasks on it and reduce to a minimum the time spent resolving them... But alas! it has still not been possible to do this. For the computer came to the radiation safety service in a package with spectrometric apparatus and was designed to solve a narrow range of special problems, namely spectrum resolution making it possible to determine the health or sickness of a submarine reactor. And in accordance with the norms, a certain software package was sent along with it. In other words, the software does not allow them to make full use of the computer's possibilities. A system of "delivering" programs to consumers in the fleet is only just starting, and we cannot count on any rapid results here.

Because of its status the radiation safety service cannot order software "on the side," even though opportunities do exist for this—there are many programmers in the region capable of fulfilling such an order to a high standard. Perhaps the fleet chemical service could act as the client, but it obviously already has enough problems of its own. However, realizing how difficult it now is to find funds, and substantial funds at that (computer programs are not the cheapest kinds of goods), in the fleet's modest budget, the radiation safety service collective is prepared to earn the necessary funds for itself.

There is a demand in the region for providing services to the public and to enterprises and organizations for

radiation inspections of objects in the environment—water, soil, seaweed, the air, precipitation—and for radiometric analysis of foodstuffs. And the radiation safety service headed by Captain 1st Rank K. Petrov could, not for free, of course, "launch" these kinds of services in the market.

"Our collective is not big enough to allocate our own specialists for this purpose," Konstantin Yuryevich reflects, "but there are enough of these kinds of specialists available in the region at civilian enterprises and organizations. And in cooperation with them—our equipment and maintenance personnel 'on the side'—we could perhaps set up the work..."

Do we need to convince anyone that this proposal makes sense, particularly taking into account the approaching market and the reductions in the military budget. The radiation safety service could not only earn what it needs to improve its own base but also significantly augment the income side of the fleet's budget. One small thing remains—obtaining the permission of the navy command to engage in this, let us say, commercial activity.

I am not inclined to advise that the radiation safety service be given the right to engage in activity of this kind without taking a good look at it. But I do think that it is necessary to consider it. To recruit combat training specialists and financial experts to calculate all the advantages and disadvantages of this kind of "conversion" for the radiation safety service. And indeed, in addition to the radiation safety service there are many units and services in the fleet capable of being involved in this kind of conversion. And not only without any harm to combat readiness, but even to its advantage.

"And for us," Captain 1st Rank K. Petrov says in conclusion, "it would enable us to carry out our main mission even better—ensuring reliable monitoring of nuclear-powered vessels and radiation safety in the zone entrusted to us..."

SU-24 Crew Ejects Over Baltic Sea

91UM0252B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 10 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by A. Khokhlov: "They Both Flew and Sailed"]

[Text] An SU-24 fighter-bomber, an Air Force aircraft of the Baltic Fleet, had an accident the day before yesterday 70 kilometers east of Gotland Island.

As was reported by the chief of aviation of the Navy, Colonel General of the Air Force V. Potapov, Pilot First

Class Captain Aleksandr Popov and Navigator Second Class Senior Lieutenant Andrey Bryukovetsnyy, crew members, showed enviable restraint and composure. After an hour and 41 minutes the ejected fliers were picked up in the neutral waters of the Baltic Sea by a Swedish rescue helicopter which was located considerably closer to the place of the accident than were the rescue crew of the Baltic Fleet who sounded the alarm. Incidentally, the Swedes were "directed" to the target by

the Soviet military aircraft that was the first to spot the victims of the catastrophe.

At 0003 hours on 9 January A. Popov and A. Bryukhovetsnyy were already in the USSR embassy in Sweden. Medical experts are not alarmed by the condition of the military fliers. The officers will return home on 11 January.

A commission has been created for investigating the causes of the catastrophe.

New Chairman on Association of Rescue Formations

91UM0203A Moscow VOYENNYE ZNANIYA
in Russian No 10, Oct 90 p 1

[Interview with N.N. Dolgin by VOYENNYE ZNANIYA Correspondent I. Shabrov: "The Association of Rescuers—Is Functioning!"]

[Text] The establishment of a new all union mass organization in the country—the Association of Rescue Formations (ASF)—was proclaimed at a founding conference in March 1990. At that time, they elected its highest organ—the Coordinating Council—which consisted of representatives of the union republics and of the cities of Moscow and Leningrad.

The Coordinating Council recently approved the USSR ASF Charter (See VZ [VOYENNYE ZNANIYA], No 11, 1990) and the Model Provision on formations and the status of rescuers, and the Association's symbols. Elections of the board—the organ of operational leadership—took place. Deputy Chief of National Civil Defense N.N. Dolgin was unanimously elected its chairman. We are publishing our Correspondent I. Shabrov's conversation with him below.

[Shabrov] Nikolay Nikolayevich, first of all permit me to congratulate you....

[Dolgin] Thank you. As they say, I will try to live up to the trust placed in me.

[Shabrov] The Association's structure is just now taking shape and tasks are being defined. But still, what is ASF's purpose, what does its foundation consist of, and, in general terms, how does it intend to operate?

[Dolgin] Chernobyl.... There is certainly no need to explain what stands behind this. It is a terrible disaster on a planetary scale. The earthquake in Armenia inflicted much destruction. I can name dozens, really, hundreds of other accidents and catastrophes that are marked by great misfortunes. Unfortunately, we will also not be insured from them in the future. These phenomena have become a distinctive reality of our times. There were losses both in Armenia, Arzamas, and Chernobyl—people and material losses, most often due to incorrect and inept actions.

Really the characteristic trait of work to eliminate the aftereffects was that volunteer rescuers participated besides USSR GO [Civil Defense], MO [Ministry of Defense], and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] units and formations, Ministry of Health forces, and other state organs. A large number of people arrived at the site of the catastrophe through compassion.

How do we relate to this? Only positively because we are talking about one of the best human qualities—compassion for those near to us. At the same time, we

need to clearly understand that this aid must be organized and skilled. Otherwise, it will not provide anything besides additional serious problems.

This question was discussed at length in government offices, at USSR Civil Defense Headquarters, in the DOSAAF Central Committee, and in other public organizations. Foreign experience was studied. We became convinced that specially trained subunits were needed that know how to rapidly and professionally conduct rescue operations during emergency conditions.

What do we have today? According to state policy, a special rapid reaction service with its own equipment, communications, and transport vehicles has been founded. According to public policy, rescue formations, detachments, and associations have been founded that have become ASF's leading and primary element. Their primary task is to conduct search and rescue work and to render assistance to victims jointly with state organs and public organizations.

[Shabrov] This means that they must be, using military jargon, at constant combat readiness in order to arrive at the site of the incident as soon as the first SOS signal is received, rapidly, without wasting time to assemble personnel and equipment—everything must be at hand!

[Dolgin] With regard to readiness—yes. Precisely so. However, I would like to immediately caution local workers against harmful amateurish activities. They should not make a decision, so to speak, at their own pain and risk, without the board's approval. As soon as they receive its go-ahead, they can begin moving to the site of the catastrophe or accident. Let me be understood correctly. I am not talking about suppression, bureaucracy, or superfluous regulation. This is a lesson of life. If you recall, almost one third of the volunteers who arrived in Armenia, alas, turned out to be incapable of providing assistance. The reason for this was that those who arrived were not those who were needed in the situation that had developed. Hence—chaos and ineffective actions.

The center, having a well-equipped information service, is capable of coordinating efforts while proceeding based on the nature of what has occurred and of sending precisely those formations that are required to eliminate the aftermath of the disaster. Let us say, mountain rescuers, biologists, doctors, chemists and technologists, film crews, and air-mobile, airborne, and motor vehicle detachments.

[Shabrov] It turns out that we need strict specialization of detachments?

[Dolgin] It is extremely desirable. For example, at sites where AES's [Nuclear Power Plants] are located, the optimal variant is to create chemical-technological formations to assist in conducting radioactive and chemical decontamination and radiation monitoring. Actually, this approach is indisputable: Something has occurred that does not require summoning people from another region of the country and to request transportation to do this, etc. Yes and time is precious. A local formation

equipped with everything necessary will immediately become involved in the matter. But this also does not exclude the existence of combined formations that consist of various types of experts.

[Shabrov] Nikolay Nikolayevich, the question poses itself: Who is joining these formations and is there a special selection process?

[Dolgin] In principle, anyone who has reached the age of 18 and who desires to make his own contribution to the fulfillment of this patriotic and humane task—to assist victims of an accident, catastrophe, or natural disaster—is accepted without any limitations. But, of course, with the appropriate health and training—they have to operate under emergency conditions. For example, only lads from Afghanistan could work in the morgues after the catastrophe in Bashkiriya. But was the identification really easier? Burned and bloody corpses and sobbing relatives.... Even those who had endured the test later needed psychological rehabilitation. The capability to

withstand the heat, the lack of oxygen, and to go without sleep for long periods of time has great significance....

The future rescuer needs to learn all of this directly in the formation. A candidate's service period has been prescribed for this at the end of which he passes his exams. And having survived the test, he becomes a member of the detachment.

[Shabrov] But at a bare site you cannot achieve much of this....

[Dolgin] You are correct, we need formation training centers equipped with modern equipment. I can already state with pride that dozens of our formations have proven themselves sufficiently well in action. For example, in Iran whose people suffered a very severe earthquake.

[Shabrov] The new public organization has a great future....

[Dolgin] I do not doubt this one bit.

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"Patriot", "Voyennyye znaniya", 1990

Lt Gen Yermakov on Problems of Sale of Surplus
91UM0242A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
4 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Lt Gen A. Yermakov, deputy commander for rear services, Belorussian Military District, by Col A. Smolyanko; place and date not given: "Why Have Second-Hand Dealers?"]

[Text] As previously reported by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, surplus military equipment is being sold to the economy on the basis of a government decision.

How this is being carried out in the Belorussian Military District and the difficulties encountered are topics discussed by Lieutenant-General A. Yermakov, district deputy commander for rear services.

[Yermakov] This is the first time this kind of commerce has happened to us, of course; it is something for which we were not prepared. Various problems arose: Who is to do this? What pieces of property and equipment are we to put up for sale, and how to do it so that both we and the customer are satisfied?

In general, the matter was not organized as well as it should have been, but on the whole, sales are proceeding successfully. This year we have sold to kolkhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms] sheepskin coats, padded jackets, men's suits, and children's underwear in the amount of more than 1 million rubles [R]. As for equipment, we sent it mostly to builders in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts who have suffered from the Chernobyl accident. We delivered R2 million worth of machinery and equipment to them. We assisted the republic's economy in the amount of R16 million.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Is this activity profitable?

[Yermakov] Not directly. The fact is that surplus technical military equipment is sold through the Belorussia SSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]. What happens as a result of that? The Gossnab buys from us, say, a motor vehicle, paying the price that it finds favorable to it, then resells the vehicle at a price three or four times higher. All our attempts to change this practice have come to naught. We attempted to do something about the situation, not on the basis of losing a profit, but rather due to the slowdown in work this has caused.

We were on fairly good terms with Gossnab organs as long as we were supplying them with motor vehicles. When this exceedingly profitable item of merchandise dried up, they became cool to the idea of purchasing other property. They either refuse to buy it, or they attach any high price they wish after they make a purchase. Their indebtedness to the district amounted to more than R3 million for the month of November 1990 alone. The Minsk, Grodno, and Vitebsk territorial material and technical supply organs refuse for some reason to accept technical military equipment, while of the surplus they had ordered as early as May 1990, only a third has been sold.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What do you see as a solution to this situation?

[Yermakov] This year, we ourselves will sell chemical equipment, uniforms, field kitchens, and some kinds of engineer and medical equipment. To do this, we intend to set up stores in oblast centers of the republic. I feel that this and other equipment should be freely available for sale to any republic citizen, not just organizations and enterprises.

Impact of Fuel Shortage on Armed Forces

91UM0267A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
11 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General V. Blokhin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Fuel Service, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent P. Altunin; place and date not given: "A Fuel Shortage. How to Overcome It?"]

[Text] Yet another shortage, a fuel shortage, has become clearly apparent in our country recently, along with a shortage of foodstuffs. It also affects the life of the Armed Forces. We asked Lieutenant General V. Blokhin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Fuel Service, to discuss this problem.

[Altunin] Vladimir Alekseyevich, fuel is figuratively referred to as the blood of the equipment. Is anemia in store for us?

[Blokhin] Such a diagnosis may be premature, but the situation is alarming. It has now deteriorated on a world scale. It is also difficult in our country. You would recall that a fuel shortage peaked at the time of harvesting; your newspaper reported this.

At present, like other consumers, we are facing a shortage of some types of fuel, especially aviation kerosene and certain grades of aviation lubricating oils. We have to look for reserves, and this is not easy. We have worked out a special program of economies in the consumption of refinery products. Our common task is to implement this program stringently.

We have encountered a number of extra difficulties now that the economy of our country is making a transition to market relations and economic advantages are becoming the main point for producers and consumers.

Firstly, oil-refining and chemical enterprises are winding down the manufacturing of products which are economically disadvantageous for them but which the Armed Forces need badly, for example, some specialty oils and fluids for aircraft. The Fuel Service, operating within the constraints of its budget along with other supply services, cannot give enterprises financial incentives in the form of high prices, counterdeliveries of goods in short supply, or settlements in freely convertible currencies.

Secondly, difficulties are associated with the fact that a number of production facilities at the enterprises of the chemical and refinery industry are being closed down for

failing to comply with the requirements of ecological safety. We know that urgent measures to introduce advanced technologies which ensure "clean" equipment complying with international ecological standards are being developed and in some places are already being taken.

Thirdly, there is the deficit of throughput capacity in railway transportation. This has occurred mainly due to a shortage of tank cars for refinery products which, on top of it, is exacerbated by failure to comply with standards for the idle time of cars while being unloaded, including on many occasions by the troops. The payment of fines for the idle time of tank cars due to the poor organization of fuel pumping comes to hundreds of thousands of rubles. The payments are particularly high in the Turkestan and Far Eastern Military Districts and in the Northern Fleet.

This is why I appeal to all commanders and chiefs on whom this depends: We should ensure the immediate transfer of fuel from cars before the deadlines set and return empty tank cars to their destination faster.

[Altunin] It is known that fuel quotas for all ministries and departments have been cut. Perhaps, this has also affected the Ministry of Defense.

[Blokhin] Yes, our quotas for 1991 have also been cut compared to this year. What should we do in conjunction with this? We should conduct economic work more vigorously, taking into account the fact that rigorous economy is one of our main reserves.

At present, we cooperate closely with scientific and design organizations which develop new types of armaments and military materiel urging the adoption of the most economical design solutions from the point of view of consumption of fuel, oils, lubricants, and specialty fluids. Thus, the rate of fuel consumption of one of the latest types of fighter aircraft has been reduced by 17 percent compared to its predecessors in the same class.

Furthermore, we persistently combat the irresponsible and, at times, incompetent approach by some officials to organizing the use of military materiel and the use of fuel in it because on many occasions this brings about the squandering and unjustified losses of fuel. For example, we have begun to carry out special-purpose inspections of the rationality of aviation kerosene consumption on the ground. Such consumption by heat-generating equipment has been considerably reduced due to a more extensive use of chemicals for ice removal from runways. However, a lot of work still remains to be done. Thus, in the aviation of the Northern Fleet one ton of aviation kerosene in 10 continues to be burned in heat-generating equipment. The norms of aircraft engine runs on the ground are exceeded by factors of 1.5 to two in virtually all of the Air Force units inspected due to the unpractical organization of flights. I believe that primarily financial penalties should be imposed on persons responsible for such overconsumption.

Proper monitoring of the use of machines, especially passenger cars and freight trucks, is still lacking. For example, according to the data of the Military Motor Vehicle Inspectorate, 3,050 violations in the operation of cars (10 percent of those verified) occurred in the Leningrad Military District in the eight months of last year; in the Volga-Urals Military District, 19 percent of the cars inspected were operated with violations of the rules in 1990.

[Altunin] It is now common knowledge that refinery products have become one of the sources of environmental pollution...

[Blokhin] Definitely. I could cite many unseemly facts to this effect. In 1988, a discharge of refinery products occurred due to the irresponsibility of officers of the maritime engineering service M. Klipa, Yu. Lotvin, and A. Bystrov, and a bay of the Barents Sea was polluted. Claims totalling 511,000 rubles against the fleet were made on this account.

Due to neglect of environmental protection by officials on the ships of the Caspian Flotilla, officers B. Sisenko, A. Lukin, and S. Robshteyn, water containing oil was systematically dumped overboard. Those guilty also paid for this. A particularly outrageous case occurred in an aviation-technical unit commanded by Lieutenant Colonel V. Cherkasov. Repeated fuel leaks into the ground brought about the contamination of a large residential area; kerosene seeped into the basements and cellars of houses and into wells with drinking water. More examples of this nature can be given.

Of course, we are taking measures. Thus, new methods of tank repairs using polyurethane foam and glue have been developed and are already being used. Good reliability of operations is the result. Technical facilities at warehouses and bases are being modernized. The functions of fuel depots, whose operation is unfeasible due to their technical condition and dangerous from the ecological point of view, will be changed; some of them will be closed. In 1989 and 1990 such measures were taken in the Moscow, Odessa, Carpathian, Volga-Urals, and Far Eastern Military Districts.

[Altunin] Vladimir Alekseyevich, there is much talk at present about a territorial system of fuel supply. What is the attitude of your service toward it?

[Blokhin] In an environment where direct contacts are replacing centralized distribution of material resources, the system of providing fuel for the Armed Forces which had emerged in previous years had ceased to guarantee reliable supplies to the troops. In parallel with the national economy, it was necessary to establish direct contacts with the producers of refinery products, give greater independence to the lower echelons of the service in the field, release their initiative, and increase their responsibility for performing the duties they have been entrusted.

The territorial system provides for transferring to the fuel service of districts (fleets) or, more precisely, territorial centers set up by them, all the rights and responsibilities for signing contracts and delivering fuel to the troops. It has already been proven that dispatch in the management of the entire process of delivering fuel to the troops, from the supplier to the tanks of motor vehicles, by the service improves abruptly. Particularly valuable experience in this area has been accumulated in the fuel service of the Moscow Military District headed by Colonel I. Neshchenko and, in particular, at the fuel depot where Lieutenant Colonel A. Prokhorenko is chief.

I am profoundly convinced that the territorial system is an optimal structure for reliable deliveries to the troops and the forces of the Navy in the environment of market relations. At the same time, the absence of a coordinating Union organ which binds the production, transportation, and consumption of refinery products into a single system (since the abolition of the USSR State Committee for Refinery Products in 1987) has brought about manifestations of local favoritism and departmental estrangement in the work of republic and local organs. We have already brought this up.

Since the military establishment constitutes the so-called nonmarket sector of the economy, we believe that during transition to the market our interests in the area of delivering refinery products to the Army and Navy should be safeguarded through legislation. It is necessary to create legal and economic conditions for the complete and uninterrupted meeting of the needs of the troops and naval forces with the entire necessary assortment of fuel and lubricants. I believe that this is an axiom. I think that this will be done. After all, fuel is the most significant, I would say priority, factor of combat readiness for the Army and Navy.

Brick Plant Closing Threatens Troop, Other Housing

914C0004A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 11 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by S. Volkov, deputy chief of the Ceramics Industry Administration, Moscow: "A Line... Until the Year 2000. The Confession of a Manager Who Is Unable to Help the People"]

[Text] Recently, I have been going to work with a permanent feeling of being guilty before somebody. After all, every day I see yet another petitioner at the door of my office.

I respond in a studied manner: "You have the wrong address. Our administration does not sell bricks. Please approach a 'Construction Materials' store." The response is familiar: "I have been to a store, but they only sell bricks to those on the list. Yesterday, a war veteran was put on the list in my presence. His number on the list was 154,000. I asked when I can get bricks, and the store manager answered: 'I do not know, perhaps, by the year 2000. They will tell you more precisely

at the Ceramic Industry Administration of the Moscow City Executive Committee.' So, I am here..."

How can I help this second-home owner and thousands of others? The demand for bricks is up by a factor of several hundred. More gardening plots have been allocated to enterprises, cooperatives, and associations. People have been attracted to the land. However, everyone must develop a lot in order to live and work on it: To build a small house, to erect a stove... All of this hinges on the following question: What about the bricks?

We should turn for an answer to the 1950's and 1960's. It was precisely at this time that in Moscow, and for that matter in the entire Union, bricks were put "on the back burner." All funds and energies were devoted to the industry of completely prefabricated housing and precast ferroconcrete. Now they have recalled the brick industry and looked back, and we see astonishment and surprise on their faces. For example, in Moscow brick plants are still in operation that were built in the times of Peter. Every brick from here is paid for in bitter sweat. This is where efforts should be made and the industry should be helped. However, the response is exactly the opposite: "Close down production facilities, remove them from Moscow..."

However, the supply of raw materials—clay and silica sand—is the greatest problem experienced by the brick industry of Moscow. The absence of mineral deposits in Moscow Oblast is not the reason. They are available, but it is not all that simple to develop them. As a rule, all deposits are under plowed land or forest areas. Some sites allocated for development in Moscow have been designed by architects without taking the prior removal of raw materials—clay—into account. Thus, in the future new microrayon Butovo (South) it is envisaged to waste (build over) about two million tons of clay.

It is paradoxical that enterprises are on starvation diets whereas within a radius of 20 kilometers of Moscow alone there are raw materials for 50 years of operation.

The situation of plants that have their own deposits of minerals belonging exclusively to them, but are suddenly closed "for lack of raw materials," is even more lamentable. In these instances, the law "On the Mineral Wealth of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]" does a poor job. Enterprises have raw material deposits registered, with the consent of land users, in the proper organs of state supervision and confirmed by local soviet organs. Yet, they cannot produce their own minerals in these areas without secondary consent of the same local soviets. The depth at which minerals are found is 18 meters. Above them, there is a layer of cultivated land that is half a meter thick. Who is the owner of such lots? You will say that he is the owner to whom the deposit belongs. You will not guess right. He is the master who has half a meter of cultivated land; that is, once again, those with whose consent an enterprise owns a deposit. The raw materials are yours, but you cannot take them. An astounding law.

A deposit of silica sand of unique quality for brick production was found in Lyuberetskiy Rayon of Moscow Oblast as early as the years of the first five-year plans. Brick plants were built with a combined capacity of about 500 million [bricks] a year. Four years ago, one of the plants of the Lyubertsy Construction Materials Combine, with a capacity of 350 million, was closed. "There are no raw materials, the plant must be closed"—this is what the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolved. The brick industry objected: "Pardon us, but there are three sand deposits in the vicinity of the plant for decades of operation." In response, we heard: "And what about the Foodstuffs Program? We cannot disturb cultivated land..."

In early 1990, the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee refused to allocate to the Korenevo Lime-and-Sand Brick Plant 10-15 hectares from the plant's own deposit. The RSFSR Council of Ministers once again codified the ill-considered decision, proposing to switch the plant over to a different production line. That is, one more plant with a capacity of 130 million [bricks] a year was closed down. As a result, in this five-year plan Moscow stands to lose two plants with a capacity of almost 500 million.

An interesting picture emerges. We bought a brick production line with a capacity of 60 million [bricks] a year from the French for hard currency and commissioned it at the Golitsyno Plant; meanwhile we closed down our own capacities that are eight to nine times greater!

What kind of logic is this? After all, cities such as Mytishchi or Lyubertsy may be built with 500 million bricks! Many ministries and establishments that use bricks from Korenevo to build housing and service and social facilities with their own resources have already been affected by the closure of this plant. There are over 160 such sites in the oblast. There are many residential

buildings of the USSR Ministry of Defense among them. The concern of the USSR minister of defense may be appreciated if we take into account the fact that the volume of housing construction increases additionally in conjunction with the need to billet servicemen arriving from the countries of Eastern Europe. Appealing to Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers I.S. Silayev, the minister of defense wrote in his letter: "I ask you to take measures to prevent the closure of the Korenevo Plant, and render assistance to the plant in allocating the lot requested for the production of silica sand." There was no response.

The Moscow Construction Committee approached the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for help: after all, a plant cannot be stopped and shut down just like that, cutting through living flesh. As early as 29 June 1990, Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet B.N. Yeltsin, who knows the problems of the Moscow construction industry well, instructed the RSFSR Council of Ministers (Comrade I.S. Silayev) and the Moscow Oblast Soviet (Comrade I.M. Cherepanov) to resolve the issue. However, the Council of Ministers has been silent until now.

On the contrary, the Moscow Oblast Soviet embarked on more vigorous activities: commissions started operations and many conferences were held with the participation of authoritative personalities from the Moscow Oblast Soviet. They visited the site of future raw material production, and finally decided: to refuse to allocate the site sought, taking into account the opinion of Kraskovskiy Settlement Soviet, the land user, and the citizens of the "Korenevo" Experimental Farm.

Incidentally, the former Russian Agroindustrial Committee also ignored the request of the industry to allocate the site. Meanwhile, nearby collective and state farms will fail to receive about 30 million [bricks] when the plant is shut down.

Further Data on Projected Costs of Professional Recruitment

91UM0235A Moscow *PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK* in Russian No 52, Dec 90 p 10

[Unattributed article under rubric "The Reader Requests Clarification": "Can We Afford a Professional Army?"]

[Text] The alternative military reform drafts published on the supplementary "Dossier" sheet in *PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK* No 48 were greeted with interest by the readers, but the most meticulous immediately discovered that inaccuracies had crept into the table of expenditure calculations for upkeep of the Armed Forces in the transition to a professional Army (it is given in the draft drawn up by the USSR Ministry of Defense). The editors informed the draft's authors of this; they agreed with the readers and apologize for the errors. Today we publish the updated results of these calculations presented to our newspaper editors by the USSR Ministry of Defense.

CALCULATION of Expenditures for Pay and Allowances of USSR Armed Forces Personnel, Housing Construction and Pension Support with Different Methods of Their Manpower Acquisition

	Under Existing Law					On a Volunteer Basis					Increase in Annual Expenditures with Volunteer Manpower Acquisition
	Including					Including					
USSR Armed Forces Size (thousands of persons)	Annual Expenditures for Personnel Pay and Allowances, Housing Construction and Pensions (millions of rubles)	Pay and Allowances (millions of rubles)	Social-Everyday Support (millions of rubles)	Housing Construction (millions of rubles)	Pension Support (millions of rubles)	Annual Expenditures for Personnel Pay and Allowances, Housing Construction and Pensions (millions of rubles)	Pay and Allowances (millions of rubles)	Social-Everyday Support (millions of rubles)	Housing Construction (millions of rubles)	Pension Support (millions of rubles)	(millions of rubles)
Average monthly pay: privates R430, NCO's R645, warrant officers R820, officers R950, generals R1,300											
3993.0	15055.0	5766.0	4804.0	2045.0	2440.0	56485.5	31020.6	8909.3	3375.0	13180.0	41430.5
3000.0	11545.0	4330.0	3605.0	1535.0	2075.0	42400.4	23269.2	6692.0	2537.2	9902.0	30855.4
2500.0	10640.0	3610.0	3010.0	1280.0	2740.0	35273.0	19391.0	5522.0	2110.0	8250.0	24633.0
Average monthly pay: privates R500, NCO's R750, warrant officers R950, officers R1100, generals R1500											
3993.0	15055.0	5766.0	4804.0	2045.0	2440.0	63622.0	36010.0	8907.0	3375.0	15330.0	48567.0
3000.0	11545.0	4330.0	3605.0	1535.0	2075.0	47798.4	27055.9	6692.0	2537.2	11513.3	36253.4
2500.0	10640.0	3610.0	3010.0	1280.0	2740.0	39772.0	22550.0	5522.0	2110.0	9590.0	29132.0

NOTE: 1. One-time expenditures for construction of social-everyday facilities will be approximately R6.25-10.0 billion, which are not included in the overall sum of annual expenditures.

2. Expenditures for combat training of the professional Army, for logistic support, and for development of a simulator facility increase by 3-5 times.

Estonian Women's Council Sponsors Deserters

91UM0265B Moscow *SELSKAYA ZHIZN* in Russian
12 Jan 91 p 6

[Report by S. Kuznetsov: "Deserters Gain a Sponsor"]

[Text] Tallinn, 11 January—Three servicemen fled from a military unit billeted near Parna. One of the deserters

was soon brought back to his unit, and the other two found shelter at a republic television station. Reporters interviewed them, promising on screen not to reveal where the deserters were staying, and they called on viewers to become their sponsors. They were found—the Pan-Estonian Women's Council, which until this time demanded the noninterference of the military in civil matters, now wants to decide defense problems.

The government of the republic joined the "sponsor" activity on an even wider scale. And it also has more concerns—about 9,000 military draft evaders. Eight thousand of them are going through so-called alternative service—on building projects, in hospitals, and in agriculture—and about 1,000 of them are not doing anything. Now, when military units are starting to help military commissariats implement the mobilization of

persons subject to the draft, the government of the republic granted "winter leave" to all "alternative servicemen" until further notice. The republic's radio does not recommend "reacting" to the notices that the military commissariats sent to all draft registrants. In general, everyone violates the Constitution and laws in his own way—some on the pretext of charity and others on the pretext of "winter leave."

Soviet Numbers in Iraq Tallied

91UM0295A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 19 Jan 91 p 3

[Unattributed article in the set of articles "War in the Gulf. Day Two": "One Hundred and Twelve Soviet Citizens Are Still in Iraq"]

[Text] A working group set up in keeping with the instruction of the USSR president dated 8 August 1990, to review and resolve issues in the event of complications in the situation of Soviet citizens in Kuwait and Iraq, reports:

All 882 of our fellow citizens were evacuated from Kuwait before 25 August of last year.

Out of the 7,791 people who were in Iraq before the conflict began, 7,679 people have returned to the USSR. At present, there are 112 Soviet citizens in Iraq. There are members 78 of the embassy staff, the office of commercial representatives, and other Soviet establishments, as well as 34 specialists who are based at nonmilitary facilities in Baghdad, Sulaymaniah, and Divaniyah.

Egyptian, Other Refugees Flee Iraq

91UM0295B Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 19 Jan 91 p 3

[Article by V. Makarchev, in the set of articles "War in the Gulf. Day Two": "...The Number of Refugees Keeps Growing"]

[Text] Geneva—A representative of the administration of the UN Emergency Aid Coordinator told a TASS correspondent that refugees from Iraq have begun to cross the Iraq-Iran border. The exact number of Iraqi citizens who have arrived in Iran is so far unknown, however. The borders of Syria and Jordan with Iraq also remain open. According to the just received data, 8,000 Egyptians have succeeded in making their way from Iraq to Jordan.

Cuban Medics Continue Work in Iraq

91UM0295C Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 19 Jan 91 p 3

[TASS report: "Humane Mission of Cuban Physicians"]

[Text] TASS—Cuban physicians and nurses who have continued working in Iraq despite the beginning of the war are employed exclusively at civilian hospitals. This was communicated on Thursday by First Deputy Minister of Health of Cuba Jorge Antello Perez.

He stated that the Cuban medics will continue their humane mission of saving human lives, and that any individual in need of help will be given it. He recalled recent episodes when Cuban physicians working in certain "conflict" countries and captured by one of the feuding groups continued to practice medicine in captivity.

Jorge Antello Perez noted that the Cuban medics in Iraq, who number 182 people, are determined to stay in this country during hostilities. At present, they are treating those who have been injured in bombing raids on Iraqi cities.

The deputy minister communicated that the government of Cuba is in permanent contact with the Cuban ambassador in Baghdad.

IZVESTIYA Reports Baghdad Raids

91UM0297A Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian
19 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by IZVESTIYA press service: "The Second Day of the War: Destruction in Baghdad. Missile Strikes on Israel. Losses in Allied Ranks"]

[Text] Wave after wave of aircraft of the anti-Iraqi coalition leave the airfields of Saudi Arabia. Their targets are military objects in Iraq and Kuwait. More than 1,300 aircraft sorties were completed in the first 24 hours of the war, and there were more than 100 strikes with Tomahawk missiles. According to a Reuter report, American intelligence asserts that about 80 percent of the strikes were on target.

Iraq is beginning to give appreciable resistance. As UPI reports, seven of the coalition's aircraft have been shot down: three American, two British, one Kuwaiti, and one Italian. Iraq's antiaircraft artillery is active; although they are weak, Iraq's fighter aircraft are operating.

Of the political events of recent hours one should note Iraq's missile strike on Israel. Eight Scud missiles have been launched. Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs D. Levi announced that Israel was consulting with Washington on this issue. As Reuter reported, the problem is that the United States would not want an Israeli counterattack to serve as a reason for a change in the position of the Arab countries participating in the anti-Iraqi coalition.

Another important event was Turkey's permission for American aircraft to use Turkish airfields for combat sorties.

At noon on the first day of the war the Iraqi Armed Forces command announced in a regular communique that the country's antiaircraft defense had destroyed 14 enemy aircraft. The Pentagon representative regarded this information, which had been conveyed with a reference to Baghdad radio, as "ridiculous." But soon U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney admitted at a briefing for journalists in the Pentagon that the losses of American Armed Forces and their allies during the first hours of the war amounted to two combat aircraft. Clarifying this information, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, Colin Powell, stated that as of that moment one American flier and a British pilot had been killed.

Disturbed by the war that had begun in the Persian Gulf, representatives of the EEC gathered at an extraordinary

conference in Paris. They affirmed their solidarity with the actions of the United States and its allies to liberate Kuwait and again called for Baghdad to withdraw its troops from this country.

Attention is drawn to the speech in Tunis by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, who called for stepping up Arab actions in order to halt the American aggression against Iraq. The Palestinian leader made this announcement after emergency phone calls to the kings of Morocco and Jordan and also the presidents of Tunisia, Algeria, Yemen, Sudan, and Mauritania.

A report came in from the official Iranian agency IRNA about Iraqi missiles striking several oil platforms in the Persian Gulf. According to a UPI report, a Scud missile was launched toward Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) but it was shot down in flight by an American Patriot antiaircraft defense missile. According to reports from the American military, it is too soon to say that the Iraqi missile potential has been completely suppressed. There might still be some mobile and also underground missile launchers.

According to information from the Iranian news agency, the presidential palace, the building of the defense ministry, the airport, and the telecommunications building have all been destroyed. Baghdad television has stopped broadcasting.

There was a report from a Pentagon representative in Washington to the effect that there would be no letup in the war until S. Husayn removes his troops from Kuwait. Radio Baghdad, playing military marches and hymns glorifying the Iraqi president, did not respond to the latest appeal from the Americans.

On the evening of 17 January the air forces of the anti-Iraq coalition made more bombing and missile strikes on strategically important objects of the Iraqi Army. As Agence France-Presse reported, for the first time since the beginning of the war U.S. Air Force B-52 bombers participated in these bombing attacks. Squadrons of them, transferred to Saudi Arabia from the island of Diego Garcia, waged precision attacks on Iraqi military fortifications on Kuwaiti territory.

According to the assessment of the chief of the general staff of the French Armed Forces, General M. Schmidt, Air Force raids of the anti-Iraqi coalition have considerably weakened Baghdad's capabilities of using chemical weapons in the war. According to information from the American command, about 100 Iraqi airfields have been destroyed. Associated Press and UPI reported from Saudi Arabia that the United States and its allies had begun to move their Army infantry contingents, directing them toward Iraqi military positions on the border with Saudi Arabia. U.S. Marine landing forces are in a state of complete combat readiness for landing on the Kuwaiti coast.

There is still the threat of increased international terrorism in connection with the events in the Persian Gulf. The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, according to UPI reports, has undertaken measures to step up security since terrorists have penetrated into the country. Great Britain has

detained 28 Iraqi citizens. The Canadian government announced that it had sent three Iraqi diplomats out of the country. Iraqi diplomats in Australia are under increased surveillance.

Of course, the figures on losses submitted by the coalition command and the Iraqi side differ significantly. Thus in the last communique from the Iraqi command it is asserted that 55 enemy aircraft have been downed and that only 23 Iraqis have died as a result of the sorties. According to a statement of a representative of the Kuwaiti government cited by UPI, Iraq's losses run into the hundreds in Kuwait alone.

Yet it would seem to be difficult to obtain objective coverage of events in the Persian Gulf. Reports from correspondents from the zone of combat activities are subjected to military censorship. Iraq has prohibited the uncensored work of the American television company Cable News Network, which was broadcasting from Baghdad during the first hours of the war.

According to information from the Saudi Information Agency, the fire from the multinational forces has "completely destroyed Iraqi garrisons on three bases in Kuwait." It reported also that morale had deteriorated among the Iraqi troops in Kuwait. Hundreds of soldiers were trading their weapons for civilian clothing and deserting from the Army.

The Iraqi opposition is conducting intensive consultation with certain representatives of the Iraqi Army leadership and also with "brother Arab states" and countries of the West in order to form a government for "national salvation of Iraq," according to a statement from the Iraqi opposition organization "Committees for National Salvation of Iraq." The announcement was broadcast on the radio station "Free Iraq."

TLAM Downing Noted

91UM0293A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Persian Gulf: Attacks Only From the Air As Yet"]

[Text] At a Sunday news conference in Washington a Pentagon spokesman declared that he could not say that the inter-nation force had achieved air superiority in the war in the Persian Gulf. That there is no superiority is borne out also by the figures for the losses officially cited by the command of the inter-nation force: By Monday morning 15 Iraqi aircraft and 15 aircraft of the coalition forces had been shot down in aerial engagements. Iraq, however, maintains that it has shot down 160 enemy aircraft.

Acknowledgments that a swift victory is not to be expected are being heard increasingly often in the allied camp. British Prime Minister John Major estimates that the war could go on for several weeks.

The massive bombing and shelling of Kuwait and Iraq continue. According to a Reuter report, the United States and Britain have reached the joint conclusion that it is as yet premature to commit ground forces to battle. The transfer of allied forces—infantry, tanks, helicopters—to the Saudi-Kuwait border continues. Israel is refraining as yet from a retaliatory attack on Iraq. Speaking on Israeli television, Prime Minister Y. Shamir said: "Defending ourselves and waging war does not mean that we must do so without wisdom, intelligence, and thought and without an appreciation of the conditions under which we are operating."

The Western news media have already begun to publish tables of the number of casualties on both sides. The relatively small losses in manpower are noticeable. This could be because severely understated figures are being given here.

Events in the Persian Gulf in the past 24 hours developed as follows.

Britain's air forces carried out concentrated assaults on the launchers from which Iraq dispatched the missiles to Israel. One Tornado fighter bomber failed to return to base. According to Iraq's INA agency, aircraft of the multinational force are bombing military and strategic targets of the large southern Iraqi city of Basra. Kuwait's ambassador to the Arab Republic of Egypt told the MENA agency that 30,000 Kuwaiti soldiers were ready for the start of combat operations on land.

Iraq attempted to fire missiles at U.S. Marines' positions, but, as the Arab news media report, they fell in the desert without hitting their targets. Ten "surface-to-surface" missiles were launched by the Iraqi Army against Saudi territory. They were targeted against the state's capital, Riyadh, and the headquarters of the central air command of the U.S. expeditionary force in the area of the city of Dahran. Nine of these missiles were destroyed by volleys of the Patriot air defense antimissile complexes, and one fell offshore. Iraqi air defense forces shot down one American cruise missile.

Speaking on Radio Baghdad, Iraqi President Saddam Husayn declared that he was, as before, fully resolved to liberate Palestine, including Jerusalem, and also the Israeli-occupied Arab territories and South Lebanon.

According to Pentagon reports, since the start of combat operations in the Persian Gulf allied aircraft have carried out more than 7,000 bombing raids against military and strategic targets of Iraq. Twenty-three Iraqi servicemen have been taken prisoner. Seven captured pilots were shown on Baghdad television: three Americans, two Britons, one Italian, and a Kuwaiti. Some of them, Reuter reports, condemned their governments, but all spoke suspiciously slowly, as if in a trance.

Despite the relatively optimistic statements on the progress of Operation Desert Storm made by General Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces, U.S. statesmen have been forced increasingly often to acknowledge that the combat operations are dragging on and that the Pentagon will clearly have to revise its planned timetable of military operations. The American command has made the decision to send the aircraft carrier "Forrestal" to the Mediterranean area. This is the seventh such ship in the area of the conflict. With its arrival half of the U.S. carrier fleet will be concentrated in the area of confrontation. The Pentagon has announced that it is calling up for active military service for operations in the Persian Gulf at least an additional 20,000 reservists.

Agence France-Presse reported from Jerusalem that the Americans have completed the transfer by air to Israeli territory of additional Patriot "surface-to-air" missile launcher batteries. At the same time, the Israeli Knesset (parliament) Foreign Affairs and Defense Commission approved a decision of the country's government to refrain from launching retaliatory strikes against Iraq. Its speaker, Ben-Elisar, called on the allied military command to step up combat operations against Iraq and to prevent further shelling of Israeli territory.

Some statesmen have been saying in effect that the war would leave little room for diplomats and politicians. This has not, it would seem, been the case. According to a Reuter report, UN circles are waiting to see what Saddam Husayn's response to the latest peace proposals of the Soviet Union is and are expressing concern that Baghdad has as yet ignored these proposals. UPI is reporting a proposal by India (following consultations with Yugoslavia, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement) that there be a two- to three-day "pause for peace" in the Persian Gulf. This proposal has been supported by Algeria. Other initiatives include the possibility of an end to military operations if Iraq declares that it is prepared to leave Kuwait. PLO leader Y. 'Arafat has called for a cease-fire in the Persian Gulf.

Syria and Egypt, UPI reports, have rejected Baghdad's calls for them to change their position and join Iraq for a "holy war against the infidel." But, as Reuter reports, Islamic fundamentalists insisting on the withdrawal of Egyptian forces from Saudi Arabia are putting strong pressure on the Egyptian Government. Strong pressure on the part of radical forces is being experienced by the government of Iran also. It is being called on to abandon its neutrality and take the side of Iraq. Pakistan, according to the report of a UPI correspondent from Islamabad, has officially declared that it will support the "Muslim nation" if Israel launches an attack on Iraq. Jordan has found itself in a difficult position. It also is being pushed ever more insistently toward a full military alliance with Iraq. Libya and Morocco are insisting that Turkey close its airfields to the U.S. Air Force. As we can see, the political situation in the region remains very complex.

Balabuyev on Importance of Civilian Aircraft Production

*91UM0205A Moscow VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT
in Russian 13 Oct 90 p 3*

[Interview with Petr Vasilyevich Balabuyev, OKB [Experimental Design Bureau] imeni O.K. Antonov chief by L. Stukalina, Kiev: "The Main Thing in Conversion is the Production of Civilian Aircraft"]

[Text] This conversion, under which a major specialized enterprise begins to "make do" with trifles while producing pans or children's toys to fulfill the consumer goods program, has already repeatedly been subjected to doubt. We think that this conversion, under which already acquired skills and traditions are being lost and high class specialists along with them, will hardly turn out to be beneficial. Really the essence of the matter is not in the transition to the output of pressure cookers, irons, etc., but in changing the primary production mix. Conversion must "operate along specialties" and not be dissipated on trifles.

Actually, why, for example, would the Ministry of Aviation Industry [MAP] not work on the needs of civil aviation? We all know that the aircraft and engine fleet [samoletomotornyy park] is obsolete and needs replacing. And really MAP with its facilities and specialists can solve the most complex tasks that civil aviation faces.

The OKB [Experimental Design Bureau] imeni O.K. Antonov Collective headed by Petr Vasilyevich Balabuyev already has a program right now directed at the sector's needs. Its goal is to manufacture the aircraft and engine fleet that would suit civil aviation in all parameters—flight range, passenger capacity, and fuel economy....

The interview with Chief Designer P.V. Balabuyev is about this.

[Stukalina] Petr Vasilyevich, please tell me what your collective is involved with in the context of conversion?

[Balabuyev] We have never been an organization that worked on military production alone. A significant portion of our production was still related to civil aviation.

It is superfluous to talk about our gigantic cargo carriers and their transport capabilities, they are known both in the country and abroad. We are involved with agricultural aviation and we design aircraft that are intended for geodetic survey. We have designed such aircraft as the An-74 and the An-70T.

Along with this, we are the developers of seven types of automated lines. The firm designs various types of sports equipment and goods for tourists, for example, high-speed bicycles, etc.

But I repeat conversion means that we must make civilian aircraft right now. There is no other way to understand this.

[Stukalina] How does the adequacy of our aircraft look when compared with foreign countries?

[Balabuyev] It is impossible to rapidly develop industry without air deliveries in the modern world. Cargo and passenger traffic are interrelated. I think that in the condition that domestic civilian aviation finds itself, it cannot win a product list competition with any of the world's foreign firms. There are no aircraft in our country with a greater range than the Il-62. Aeroflot cannot operate on long range routes due to a lack of airliners designed for 11-12,000 kilometer routes and a passenger capacity of 250-300 people. This is the type of product list you need to have today.

Canada and the United States, taken together, have 262 million people, approximately as many as us, but we lag behind in passenger traffic by 3.8 times per capita. And it will be a crime if we do not take radical steps and if that portion of the defense industry that is released is not directed toward solving problems in civil aviation.

The main thing in conversion is the production of civilian aircraft and satisfaction of the population's needs, even if those needs are half of that in foreign countries.

[Stukalina] What can your design bureau specifically propose?

[Balabuyev] We need to keep in mind that international traffic will increase by a factor of 2.3 in the near future. We need to build 12,000 aircraft—5,500 will replace aircraft that are written off. What we need to do is double the output of airliners.

We are historically a mighty power but our civilian fleet has old aircraft at its disposal that consume more fuel than some. Good aircraft have appeared in our country—the Il-96 and the Tu-204, but they also cannot cover that product list that I talked about.

We have proposed producing aircraft based on the D-18 engine that is used on Ruslan. This is the only engine in the Union with a 23,000 horsepower rating. It has fuel consumption characteristics that equate to those of the best Rolls-Royce or Pratt and Whitney engines. We have proposed design of airliners with two, three, and four engines and passenger capacities from 250-300 to 700 people that are capable of covering distances from 4,000 to 12,000 kilometers.

We have also proposed the An-180 164-180 seat aircraft, but this is already a qualitatively new aircraft with turbo-fan engines, it will fly 2,500-3,000 kilometers and consume 14-15 grams of fuel per passenger kilometer. There are no such aircraft anywhere in the world. For example: The Tu-204 consumes 19-20 grams.

We need two to three billion rubles to design an aircraft engine. We propose using our D-18 for which we need R1 billion to avoid this expenditure.

A favorable situation has now been created in the country: The D-18 is already in series production and we

just need small expenditures for its certification. The flight and navigation instrument system developed for the Il-96 or the Tu-204 will be certified in the next year or two. If we take what we have and rapidly plan and place it into series production, then short system and engine certification time periods will allow us to produce and to equip Aeroflot with two, three, and four engine aircraft in a very short period of time.

[Stukalina] How were these proposals greeted at MGA [Ministry of Civil Aviation]?

[Balabuyev] They were approved at a joint MGA and MAP scientific technical council. Our An-180, An-218, and An-419 aircraft were included in the civil aviation development program. Naturally, we are very much awaiting the time when they will give us the order. But the question of financing has not been resolved for now. Almost six months have passed and we could have already been approaching the initiation of production and on January 1 submitting the working blue prints. Right now we cannot lose even one second.

[Stukalina] Petr Vasilyevich, I would like to ask you one more question which is also quite timely. Our republic recently adopted a Declaration of Independence. What paths do you, as Chief Designer of the OKB imeni O.K. Antonov, see for cooperation with Ukrainian aircraft companies?

[Balabuyev] The workers collective is the foundation of any sector, be it aircraft manufacturing or any other. Precisely it must cooperate along horizontal connections. This must not depend on borders of either sovereign republics or of states. This peaceful participation and this connection will support the science-intensive sector no matter what civil aviation is.

Transportation companies must dictate and we will fulfill the orders. Ordinary work under ordinary business relations.

Conversion: Estonian Uranium Plant To Produce Consumer Goods

914A0336A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian
20 Nov 90 p 1

[Report by ETA correspondent F. Kaazik: "Conversion Sillamyae Style"]

[Text] Uranium production has ceased at the Sillamyae Chemical-Metallurgical Association. The premises have been emptied of equipment. Some of it has gone for scrap and scrap metal, some is to be decontaminated. According to the chief engineer at the association, Valentin Sushko, by the end of the year everything should have been completed. The available premises will be used for the production of goods for the national economy.

What does this conversion mean for the enterprise? First of all a switch to the production of output to satisfy the consumer—permanent magnets, catalysts, artificial emeralds, fabric for air filters, respirators, fertilizer, components for the manufacture of paints. V. Sushko

names many enterprises in Estonia as consumers—the Pyussi Wood-Particle Board Plant, "Vazar," the Maardu Plant, collective and state farms. Incidentally, permanent magnets are a very promising product, and in this field cooperation is under way with a West German company, using local raw materials. This output is essential for everyone who produces domestic instruments. It is planned to produce boxes for video cassettes in cooperation with a company in the United States.

Interest in Sillamyae's new peaceful output is also being shown in the Soviet Union, and all necessary conditions exist for successful barter. V. Sushko believes that Estonia could obtain goods from virtually every republic for the association's output. The enterprise is still subordinate to the Union Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry. In answer to the question of how relations are being set up with the Estonian Republic, V. Sushko replied diplomatically that there is a certain amount of caution vis-a-vis the enterprise here. In his opinion, the Estonian Government is underestimating the capabilities in Sillamyae. Moreover, at this time the association is firmly tied to the Union ministry in matters of supplies. In the event that there is a move to separate the enterprise, it could be converted, for example, into a joint-stock company. Perhaps then it will be easier to find a common language. For the time being a course has been set toward expanding cooperation with enterprises in Estonia. Does the secret nature of the enterprise interfere with the work? In the opinion of the chief engineer there is no difficulty. Of course, every enterprise has things about which they do not speak aloud, for example, prime costs. For it is, after all, a matter of competition, particularly in the foreign market. And the people in Sillamyae do have such a market.

Exhibit on Military Conversions Planned

914D0107A Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Jan 91 p 1

[Article by V. Svirin: "At an Exhibition With Military Secrets"]

[Text] Representatives of a number of ministries that work in the military-industrial complex conducted a news conference in Moscow for Soviet and foreign journalists.

The topic was the exhibit "Conversion," which is planned for June and is being organized in Bologna at the initiative of business circles of Italy. Only enterprises and scientific research organizations of the USSR will be taking part in it, and they will demonstrate technology and materials which until recently were a military secret. Why? To find capable partners for the conversion of formerly "closed" industries over to the manufacture of products for civilian use and consumer goods. Being delivered to Bologna are more than 1,400 working models, 400 mock-ups, TU-304 aircraft, the multipurpose "Albatros," a passenger transport aircraft with a low specific fuel consumption, the SU-26-7 sporting the

"Buran" system, for whose creation 100 types of new materials were invented, 240 new technologies, and 130 new models of weapons.

Italian businessmen are already showing interest. They are proposing the formation of a joint aviation company for transporting cargo on airliners of the AN type as well as a joint jewelry enterprise. They are prepared to

purchase warships for conversion into meeting centers, exhibition centers, hospitals, and stores. Nor do they have any objection to concluding leasing contracts for the use of Soviet aircraft carriers and submarines that have been subjected to military cuts as tourist attractions at the sea resort of Rimini. Leasing means renting out an article with payment of fees up to the full cost of the article, after which the leased object may be purchased.

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